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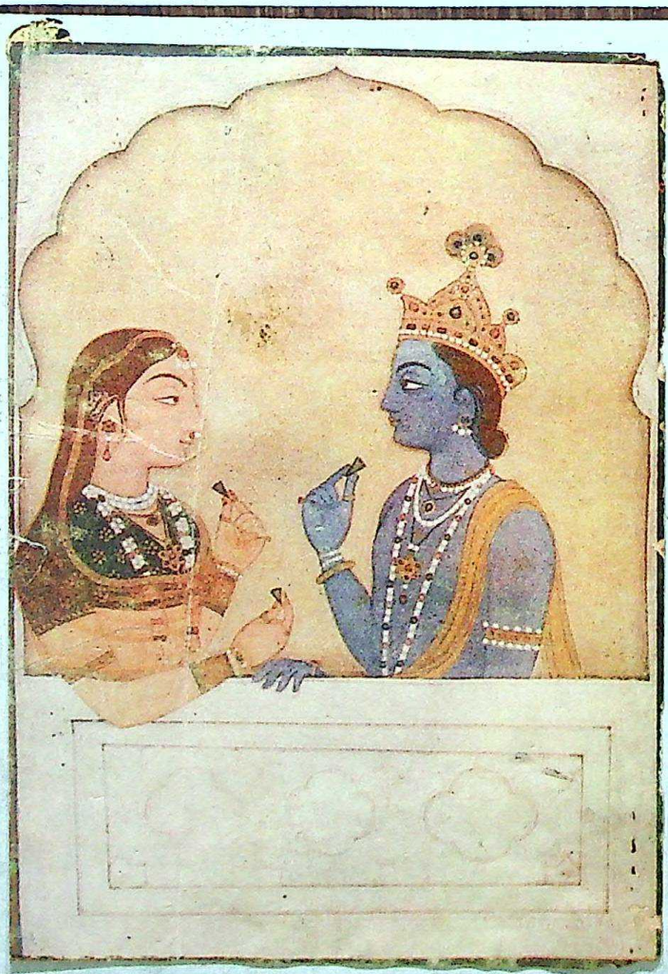

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RUPAM

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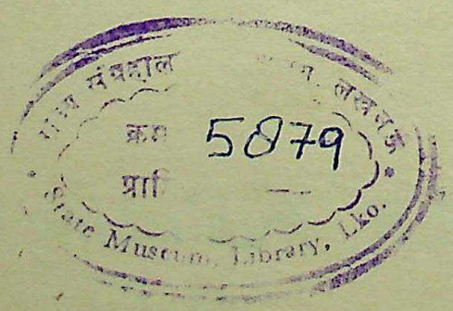

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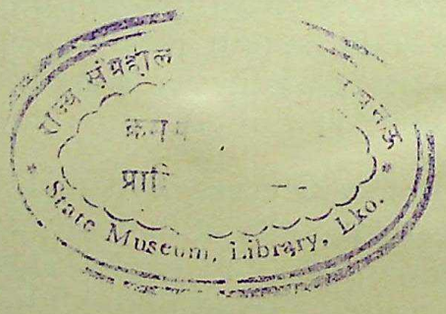

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I.—AN IMAGE OF SARASWATI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY the generous courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and of Mr. H. J. Braun-holtz of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography we are enabled to reproduce in the frontispiece a magnificent example of Brahminical sculpture of what may be called the fag-end of the early Mediæval period. The sculptures of the [illegible] conception, as distinguished from the earlier Buddhist forms, have always proved very formidable *betes noires* to European critics of the Victorian era, some of whom survived in the stolid opposition of Vincent Smith and Birdwood. To the latter the Brahminical forms were [illegible] but unmitigated barbarities. Happily we have now travelled very far from this 'Victorian' attitude in our understanding of the forms of Indian sculpture. We cannot say at present that the language of these forms has been clearly apprehensible to all students or lovers of Indian art. But there is no doubt that there is now a general concession on the part of European critics that these forms have been evolved on certain definite principles and canons (both ritual and æsthetic) of Indian origin to which the principles of Greek and, generally, the whole body of Western sculptures are in direct opposition. Indeed, with the exception of the Gothic and certain phase of Egyptian sculptures and some phases of the Cubist and Post-impressionists experiment of modern times, there is practically nothing on the west side of the Red Sea which can offer any parallel to the imaginative conception of form which we find in the works of Indian sculpture. This unique nature of the contribution of the Indian artist to the problem of form is more and more acquiring recognition. It is somewhat inaccurate to [illegible] a Brahminical as distinguished from a Buddhistic conception of form in Indian sculpture. The adherents of both schools of religion have employed the same Indian craftsman whose code of æsthetic formula has been the same, whether applied to Bramhinical or Buddhistic images. And none of the examples of Indian sculpture is more suitable than our present example to demonstrate the fundamental unity of the sculptor's conception of form whether catering for a Brahmin or a Buddhist worshipper. With a few iconographic modifications, this image could be easily transformed to a Buddhist Tara. But our example is of great interest from more than one point of view. As an example of Brahminical sculpture—it is a *chef d'oeuvre* of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and suavity of its aquiline features, and in the general restraint in the treatment of the anatomy which is almost wholly free from any exaggeration. To us the emotion of its static conception, almost alternating between a *rajasic* and a *sattvic rasa*, appeals almost. The restraint of its static quality is almost on the breaking point under the stress of a passionate utterance. This could hardly be the result of a conscious and deliberate art as opposed to a product of immediate experience by which Dr. Coomaraswamy is inclined to characterise the quality of mediæval Indian sculpture. In the second place it easily recalls the earliest Chola sculptures of the Southern School, thus linking up the history of Southern Indian sculpture with the main stem of the North. This affinity is specially strong in the treatment of the drapery, some of the ornaments (*uru-malai*), and the coronet. It has also some points of contact, particularly in the ornaments on the arms, with early Pala and some of the Orissan images, while its derivation from the ancestors of the Ellora caves is not less obvious. It is in fact conceived in the very current language of the tenth and eleventh century—to which all the schools of sculptures immediately preceding or following, can be easily related. It includes many common features which later on develop and specialise into different groups

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In the ancient Pali Buddhist literature a conical hut is called a *Kutagara*. Kuta means a mountain peak or a heap of rice or other seeds. The construction of the kuta or the peak of the *kutagara* is a favourite simile with the authors of the Nikayas. Thus in the Samyutta-Nikaya (XX.1) it is said, "Just as in a peaked house, brethren, whatever rafters there are all converge to the roof-peak resort equally to the roof peak, are fixed together in the roof-peak, all go to junction there, even so whatever wrong states there are all have their roof in ignorance, all may be referred to ignorance, all are fixed together in ignorance, all go to junction there."(4) For other parables on the *kutagara* the reader is referred to Mr. Rhys David's "Index to Similes in the Nikayas." (J.P.T.S., 1906-7, pp. 58-59.) In the Vinaya Pitaka (Mahavagga, VIII, 4), in an account of the city of Vasali (Vaisali) two types of buildings, Pasada and *Kutagara* are mentioned. Buddha allows five kinds of dwellings (*pancha-lenani*) to the monks of his order, viz: Vihâra (monastary); Addhayoga, which according to Buddha ghosha is a gold-coloured Bengal house; Pasada, a long storied mansion; Hamiya is a Pasada with a *kutagara* placed on the topmost story; Guhâ, a hut made of bricks, or in a rock, or of wood. ("Sacred Book of the East", Vol. XIII, pp. 173-174.) In the Mahasudassanasuttanta of the Dîgha-Nikâya it is said that for king Mahâsudassana Vissakammâ built a palace (pasada) which had 8,400 *kutagaras*, one of which was assigned to Mahâ-vyûha. (5)

Students of Indian Architecture have hitherto neglected one very important source of materials, the sculptures on the great ground railing of the *stupa* of Bharhut now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In these sculptures wherein a large number of stories relating to the prebirths and the last birth of Gautama Buddha are vividly illustrated, all types of buildings known in Central India in the second half of the second century B.C. are represented. Among these are distinguishable two classes of huts—small domed huts used as residence by holy men Vide Figures 1-3), and huts with pointed or semi-circular gable (Figure I, No. 4). The peaked huts reproduced in figures 1-3 have all rectilinear domes or peaks. At the top again of each of the peaks is a finial which is evidently the prototype of the *amalasara* of the Nâgara or Indo-Aryan temple. This finial has grown out of the necessity of shutting up the hole at the top of the conical or domed roof where all the beams meet and subsequently developed into a decoration. These domed huts are evidently the simplest type of *kutagaras* referred to in the Pali texts.

In Figure 5 is reproduced a bas-relief in a panel of a corner pillar of the ground railing of the *stupa* of Bharhut now exhibited in the Indian Museum. It shows two buildings. The three-storied building on the right is labelled in ancient Brâhmî characters, *Vejayanto pasado*, "the palace Viajayanta," the residence of Indra in heaven, and the building on the left is labelled *Sudhamma Devasabha*, "the assembly hall of gods (called) Sudharmâ." The holy object installed within the building on a throne under an umbrella is the lock of hair of Gautama Buddha which is being worshipped by the gods. So here we have a regular temple with a cult object installed in it for worship. This temple has a two-storied domed spire modelled on the dome of the huts represented in Figures 1 to 4, with this difference that whereas the spire of the huts is rectilinear, the spire of this temple is circular. In a bas-relief on the inner face of the left pillar of the eastern gateway of Sanchi are represented a fire chapel which has a domed roof with two windows and a leaf hut with a circular dome.

The derivation of the spire of the Nâgara temple from domed huts or temples of ancient India represented in the bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi are not open to the objections that may be raised against the derivation of the *sikhara* from the dome *stupa*.

Mr. Simpson writes:—"Those who begin the study of Indian Architecture generally, as a first plunge, assume that the Hindu temple

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(4) Mr. Rhys David, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Part II, p. 157.

(5) The Pâncharâtras (Vaishnavas) worshipped four Vyûhas, Vâsudeva, Samkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Mahâvyûha may be Vâsudeva, the first Vyûha and the Mahâvyuha *kutagara* a Vaishnava shrine.

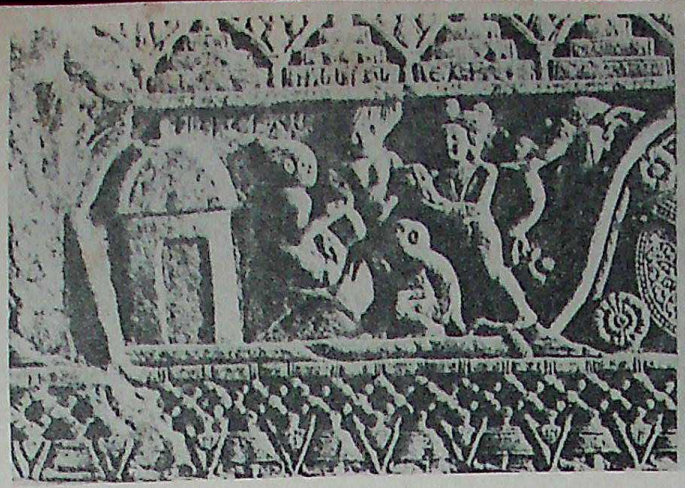

Fig. 1.

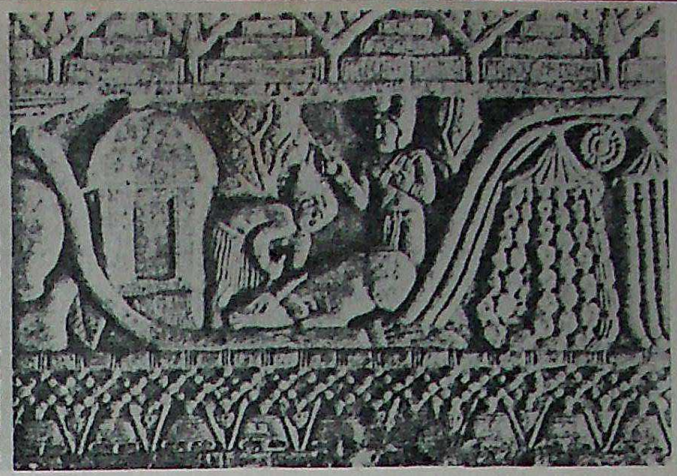

Fig. 2.

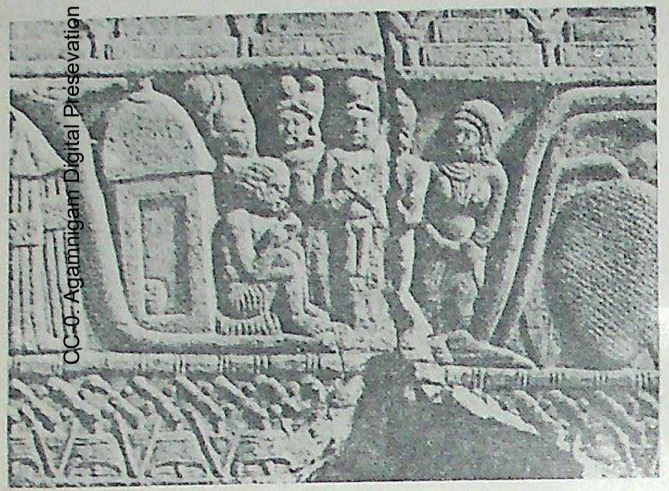

Fig. 3.

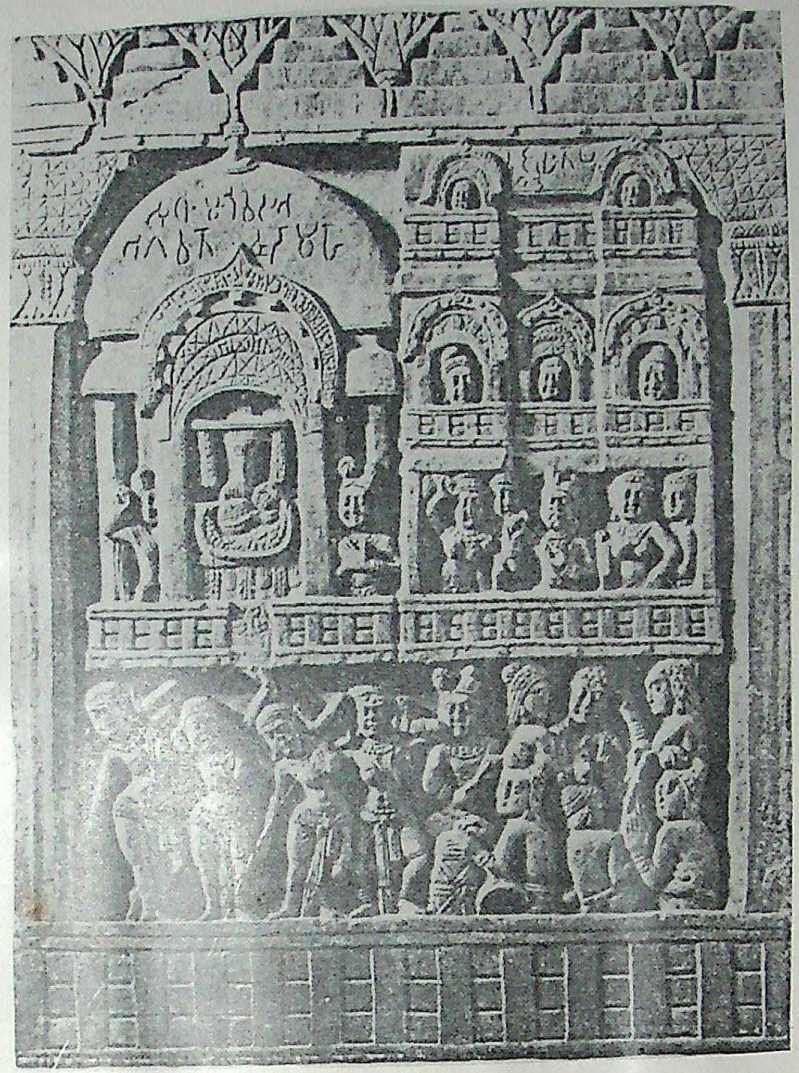

Fig. 5.

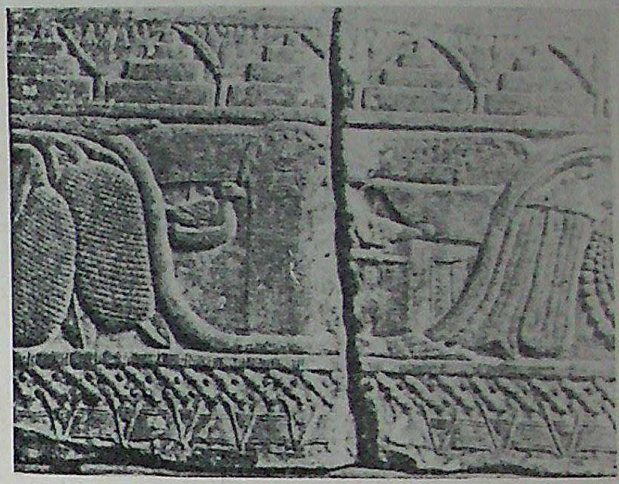

Fig. 4.

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and the Buddhist *stupa* are similar developments, or that the one has sprung from the other. This was the idea that occurred at an early date to my own mind; but a very slight familiarity with the two forms soon dissipated the notion. I do not feel entitled to say that the transition of the *stupa* to the *sikhara* is impossible; but it seems to me not at all a change likely to have taken place. There is the first step from the circle to the rectangular in the plan. This might have taken place; but the great difficulty which weighs in my mind is, that the *stupa* is a solid mass, while the Hindu temple is a hollow structure formed of walls.....As already explained, we have not found the progressive stages which produced the Hindu *sikhara*, and there is another stage also missing, and which would also be necessary as evidence in this case—that is, the preliminary changes of the *stupa* towards the form of the *sikhara*. The sculptured *stupa* at Dras supplied this requirement in tracing the origin of the pagoda. In no case that I know of in India do we find the solid dome-shaped *stupas* tending to the square form, or approximation in them to become a chamber formed of walls."6

In a paper entitled *The Buddhist and Hindu Architecture of India*, Professor A. A. Macdonell endeavours to bring out the progressive stages which produced the *sikhara* from this *stupa*.

But certain anachronisms render Prof. Macdonell's reconstruction unacceptable. The Indo-Aryan Hindu spire appears fully developed in its earliest occurrence, about 600 A.D. But the links that connect this fully developed *sikhara* temple with the *stupa* are of later date. In a Chaitya at Ajanta (No. 19) dating probably from the fifth century A.D. the image of Buddha is placed in front of the *stupa*. In the largest Buddhist Chaitya at Ellora of about 600 A.D., the *stupa*, instead of being circular, has a frontispiece which makes it square on this side with a figure of Buddha seated with his feet down. The next stage is marked by the latest Buddhist Chaitya cave at Kholvi. "The *Stupa* which it contains is no longer solid, but is hollowed out into a cell in which an image of Buddha is placed." "A link connecting this formal stage" proceeds Prof. Macdonell, "with the later Jain and Hindu temples is to be found in an old structural Vishnu temple dating from about 700 A.D. Here the *stupa* is superseded by a cell for the image, but this cell still has a semi-circular back and is separated from the outer wall by a passage of circumambulation which is a continuation of the aisles as in the Buddhist Chaitya. The transition is completed by the next step when the cell is made square. This is the case at Pattadkal in an early Hindu temple, which is otherwise the same in plan as the one I have just described." 7

Here Professor Macdonell endeavours to trace the origin of the Nâgara or Indo-Aryan type of temple which is found in its fully developed form about 600 A.D. to *stupa* with the help of transitional forms that are either contemporaneous or later in date. Mr. William Simpson in the article referred to above traces the beginning of the *sikhara* in the bamboo hut with good reasons. He writes:— "The cell would have been easily formed by means of bamboo posts and the sides covered with reed mats. I take it that the four bamboos at the corners would rise higher than the cell, and that they would also be covered in some simple manner, either to mark the position of the temple or to add to its appearance or importance. Now this last operation could not have been accomplished without binding the bamboos together in some way, and this could scarcely be done without the upper ends, particularly as they taper upwards, bending inwards, and thus reducing the width of the spire at the top." (P. 234.)

When Simpson's theory was first (in 1882) brought to the notice of Fergusson he is said to have complained of the absence of monumental evidence (p. 235 note). But there is no lack of historical and monumental evidence as we have seen above, relating to the existence of peaked or domed huts in Eastern and Central India even in centuries

6. "Origin and Mutation in Indian and Eastern Architecture."—*Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. VIII, 1891, p. 232.

7. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1909, p. 320.

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preceding the beginning of the Christian era, and it is quite evident that such huts, whether of bamboo or wood, were the prototype of the Nâgara temple with *sikhara*.

III.—A HYPOTHESIS AS TO THE ORIGIN OF INDO-JAVANESE ART.*

By DR. F. D. K. BOSCH.

THE ORIGIN OF INDO-JAVANESE ART.

WHAT is the origin of Indo-Javanese architecture which came into existence so early in the monuments on the plateau of the Dieng and on the slope of the Oengaran, having attained their full growth in the tjandis of Kalasan, Sewoe, Prambanan, Boroboedoer, Mendoet, and the numerous other shrines which adorn Middle Java, or which have adorned it and have disappeared? We place this question right at the beginning of our proposition, so as to be able to give immediately and clearly the answer that must precede all the contemplations, theories and hypothesis as to the origin of the Middle Javanese architecture.

That answer is: We know NOTHING about it. One cannot say less than that, and the observation is but too true. We may certainly circumscribe the "nothing," and we know that from the Pre-Indian source of history we can draw no information as regards the art which had reached their bloom; we may deplore the fact that the only old Javanese inscriptions which mention the building of shrines give us no answer to the question with which we are concerned, and that the reports of Chinese travellers who have visited these lands contain all kinds of information worth knowing, but nothing at all with regard to the building of temples and allied things. The fact remains that the historical sources allow us to grope our way in complete darkness, and that in all our explanations we are forced to resort to suppositions and conjectures. It is not superflous to confirm expressly this fact once more, since this rise of architecture in Java has often been spoken and written of with a complaisant assurance, as if the authorities who are speaking, had stood by when the temples were being built, and as if their origin had just as little mystery as that of a station or a school.

First Hypothesis. According to them, there is no question of a "problem," still less of seeking a solution. Indeed it was "the Hindus" who, having come here in large numbers, have brought hither—with many other blessings of their civilisation—their religion and architecture. They are indeed the builders of the Middle Javanese shrines. (1).

We are to see that this assertion is nothing more than a conjecture, and even a particularly unlikely conjecture. Let us therefore follow up the conclusions to which it leads us. Let us suppose that grandiose edifices, such as the tjandis of Boroboedoer, Prambanan, Sewoe, etc., were built by immigrated Hindu artisans. Hundreds, perhaps even thousands, were therefore necessary, and during many years—how many can not be estimated—they must have been firmly established in Middle Java.

The Hindu artisans would certainly not have kept aloof from the world as hermits, but would have formed families and have mingled with the Javanese population.

What language did the hypothetical Hindu artisans speak? Surely NOT Sanskrit, for

(1) Thus, among others, R. Ph. Spiers in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1910) Vol. II, p. 414, etc. E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting (1908), p. 110, etc. R. Mookerji, A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity (1912), p. 148, etc., and many others.

* Read at the First Congress of Language and Folklore Studies of Java held at Solo in December 1919. Translated from the Report published in the Handbook Congress (in Dutch) pp. 93-196, 1921.

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that was a literary language, (2) which, just like Latin in Mediæval Europe and Hebrew amongst the Jews, was used only by cultured people for the exchange of ideas, but rather one of the numerous vernaculars (prakrits), which differ from Sanskrit just about as much as the Romance languages differ from Classical Latin, or one of the Southern Indian Dravidian dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, etc.), which belong to quite a different family of languages, from Sanskrit. Now, if a large colony of Hindu artisans really was established in Middle Java, then we cannot think otherwise than that they must have left traces behind them. We are not thinking here in the first place of direct mention on inscriptions, or of place names, which call the establishment to mind, but we refer especially to linguistic influences; i.e., one expects to find a large number of words from the spoken language of the immigrants, that is, as it were, the Prakrit of Dravidian, in the Javanese language, and especially words, expressions and technical terms relating to architecture, in which department the Javanese indeed had everything to learn from the Hindus. Well, now, the ancient Javanese language has as good as no Prakrit or Dravidian words to show. (3) As far as is known all loan words in ancient Javanese are of pure Sanskrit origin, (4) and we need not say, that the learned connoisseurs of the language did not condescend to carry and to hew stones under the tropical sun.

If the establishment of a large colony of Hindu artisans in Java which did not leave a single trace behind in the language is inconsistent, that one would do well to give this establishment a place in the realm of fairy-tales, and to look out for a more likely hypothesis, which endeavours to explain the origin of the Hindu-Javanese architecture.

Another Hypothesis. Here is another hypothesis: It was not a large colony of Hindu immigrants which undertook the construction of the monuments of Middle Java, but it was a relatively small number of Hindu artists who took the lead in the work. It was they who executed the difficult and fine work, such as the preparation of the plan, the designing and the carrying out of the ornamentation, and the chiselling of the extremely beautiful reliefs, whilst there was probably an army of Javanese slaves, coolies or soldiers who did the rougher work, such as the hewing, transporting and piling up of the blocks of stone.

One admits immediately that this hypothesis is infinitely more likely than the preceding one. If one thinks of the number of first-rate Hindu artists as having been small, then one need no longer take such exception to the fact that no Prakrit or Dravidian words have passed into Javanese. Perhaps the artists spoke Sanskrit, we may suppose, or perhaps they interfered too little with the population for any word of their vernacular to be caught up by Javanese ears.

The hypothesis also gives an explanation, which is at first sight satisfactory, of the refined perfection which we admire in the Middle Javanese monuments. Who else but the Hindus—we are to ask—who else but they can the builders of the monuments have been—the Hindus who, by their centuries old practice and experience had learnt how to understand and manipulate the stone material, and how to use it for building palaces, temples and living-houses?

And, to be sure, in spite of everything, the given explanation of the origin of the Middle Javanese architecture is nothing more than a conjecture, which, on investigation, seems uncertain and unsatisfactory.

Consequences.—This looks as if we had the consequences before our eyes.

We may take it that the Hindu artists, who, according to the above hypothesis had taken

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(2). It is less correct to speak of Sanskrit as a "dead" language. Grammatical rules have fixed Sanskrit and have checked its natural development, but thanks to this it has remained almost to the present day the language pre-eminently of scholars and cultured persons. *See* Winternitz, History of Indian Literature (1909), p. 41. For the spread and importance of Sanskrit in present-day Indian society, see P. Deussen, Memories of India (1904), p. 2.

(3). One word, i.e., "bharala," which is of Prakrit origin (Kern, B. K. 1. 73, p. 495), is one of the few exceptions. Probably it came from the Sanskrit into the popular language, and through the medium of this language it became known in Java.

(4). Kern, *see* Colijn, "Neerlands Indie" (1913) Dl. I, p. 224.

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the lead in the construction of the Middle Javanese shrines, did not begin newly in Java and thought out a brilliant style here.

Artists are not in the habit of disowning their nature and their art when they remove to foreign lands. He who does not wish to believe this without exception, should remember the Chinese who maintained their individual art with honour wherever they established themselves, whether in Korea, in Japan or in the Archipelago: or the Moors, who, when they penetrated to the continent of Europe, brought their typically Moorish architecture to Spain: or the Javanese who, having emigrated to Bali after the fall of Majapahit, continued their art traditions on that island; or finally, the Dutch, who in Batavia, built houses with pent-houses, steps, upper rooms and cellars, as though they were in their polder-land.

What is true of the Chinese, the Moors the Javanese and the Dutch, is surely applicable in no less a degree to the Hindus.

No nation in the world has been so much attached to, indeed almost enslaved by, its traditions, as precisely they, and in no province were the traditions more predominant than in those of religion and art.

Now we may take into consideration that the Hindu artists—if the hypothesis is correct that they played an important part in Java—worked under different conditions here from those of their motherland. The material, the climate, the nature of the soil, the working forces, the social and economic conditions of their country were different from those obtaining here. But, though one may attach the greatest importance to this and similar factors which might have influenced their art, with all that, we may safely assume that, very far from giving up their beloved traditions in a foreign land, they would, at least at the beginning, have fashioned their creations in Java in the same manner as in the homeland, and that they transferred many, if not all of the characteristics and peculiarities of the style of the mainland to the Javanese style. One expects that the oldest Javanese monuments must have shown great similarity with the architecture which flourished in the homeland of the Hindu colonists at a certain period. In order to make the hypothesis in question feasible it is necessary to be able to point out somewhere in the land of the Hindus a "mother art," to which the Javanese art is indebted for its origin. This problem is now not placed first.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE INDIAN AND THE INDO-JAVANESE ARCHITECTURE.

From the moment when the Javanese monuments are made the subject of serious study, one has always kept one's eye firmly fixed upon the Indian antiquities, and has noted with accuracy and with great concern the results of the investigations undertaken over there, precisely with the aim of tracing points of relationship between the art of the mainland and that of Java. The results have been rather disappointing. Though it has been triumphantly declared in the meantime (5) that the explanation of Javanese Art in general, and of that of Boroboedoer in particular, is to be found in the monasteries of the Swath valley (near Peshawar, in the extreme N. W. of India, on the frontier of Afghanistan), yet at the time when Dr. Krom made his great journey across British India, and visited and studied the monuments mentioned, he explained (6) that the investigation had not brought to light one single point of agreement with the Javanese monuments. Other statements as to close relationship between the art directions of India and Java may be disregarded here. (7) We have only to take notice of the incontrovertible results obtained so far by comparative studies in style.

As we have already shown, the studies have not opened any wide prospects for us. Brandes, in his studies on Indo-Javanese art, has several times called attention to

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(5). R. Ph. Spiers in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2 dr. Vol. II. p. 427.

(6) Rapp. Oudhk. Comm. 1910, p. 50

(7) Spiers, in the work quoted. An annihilating criticism of the chapter written by him on Javanese architecture in the 2nd edition of Fergusson's History, is given by Dr. N. J. Krom, A Protest (T. B. G. LIII, p. 360, etc.), *see* also Dr. Krom, Rapp. Oudhk. Comm. 1911 in Vincent A. Smith, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon (1911), p. 264 note.

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peculiarities of style and ornament, which the Javanese and Indian buildings and sculptures have in common: (8) other scholars have found pleasure in increasing the number of this category with single striking examples, but, however important the discoveries may be in themselves, they have not pointed the way to the origin of old Javanese art in India.

To give a concrete example—when one observed that the peculiar ornamental design consisting of a human head, which is placed in a horseshoe-shaped niche, and looks out, as it were, through a window, is used not only in Middle Javanese, but also in Indian, architecture as an antefix, the discovery was certainly not devoid of importance. (9) But when, after a continued comparison between the Javanese and the Indian edifices which have this motif in common, not a single other point of agreement comes to light, surely nobody should overestimate the value of this discovery, and greet the Indian temples as the prototype of those of Java.

This instance is one of many. At every turn the arts of the two countries seem to touch one another; one 'kâla'-head of Gujarat reminds one of one in Eastern Java; a bas-relief of Anuradhapura in Ceylon has a wonderful resemblance to one of Sadjiwan tjandi; the so-called recalcitrant spiral, which is so often a panel-ornamentation in Java, occurs just as frequently on Indian buildings: the so-called "monocle" motif of the Javanese tjandis is also known in Indian architecture; (10) thus one can proceed without any trouble until one has made out a long list of ornaments and motifs and of constructive and stylistic peculiarities, a list with which one cannot do anything or prove anything. For just as often as the Indian and the Javanese arts appear to approach one another, just as often do they also turn away from one another. The points of agreement are therefore, merely isolated, partial and accidental, but one seeks in vain in India for an edifice combining in itself the most characteristic qualities of Javanese architecture: the door-framework formed by 'kâla' and 'makaras,' the cleanness and distinction of the constructive ornament, the matchless beauty of reliefs and sculptures.....in short, we can so far point to no edifice in India which can lay any claim to the same artists who worked in Java. (11)

The confirmation of this fact is, of course, not sufficient to prove decisively the untenability of the hypothesis that Javanese art was an imported Hindu art. It is very certainly possible that an architecture very closely related to that of Java may have been destroyed without leaving any traces behind, or also, that some time or other an edifice may be discovered or excavated somewhere in India showing so great a resemblance to an old Javanese edifice that one will know: this is the prototype of the Central Javanese monuments. One must, however, recognise, on the other hand, that a hypothesis the strongest support of which is based upon that which does not exist, or at least which has not yet been traced back, is not extremely satisfactory, and that it is certainly permissible, though awaiting the bringing to light of some prototype, to beguile one's time by searching for another explanation of the mysterious origin of Javanese architecture.

It is therefore necessary to turn down a by-path, and to investigate a province which borders on architecture proper.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC NOTIONS OF DIVINITY.

Of the large number of notions which the Hindus have formed of the divinity, two

(8) The Makara as a hair ornament, T. B. G. XLVIII, p. 21, etc. Note on a kind of ornamental drapery of the ancient Hindu monuments of Central Java, Homage to the Congress of Orientalists of Hanoi (1902), p. 7, etc. Monograph, Singasari (1909) p. 21 etc. Dr. N. J. Krom, Rapp. Oudhk. Comm. 1910, p. 35. Dr. Ph Vogel, two notes on Javanese Archæology, J. R. A. S. 1917, p. 373, etc.

(9) Amongst others the great baked stone temple of Bhitargaon, Cawnpore district and the temples at Mamallapuram (Vogel, loc. cit. p. 375). *See* also the representation of such niches on the Surya temple of Vasantgarh (Sirohi State), V. A. Smith op. cit. p. 148 and on the Mahadev temple of Bajura (Kulu), Ann. Rep. Archæol., S. of India, 1909-10, pl. VI, and E. B. Havell. The ancient and mediæval arch. of India (1915) ch. V.

(10) *See* Plate XLII Ann. Rep. Archæol., S. of India, 1909-10, Excavations at Mandor (Rajputana)

(11) *See* the reference hereafter.

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groups, which have dominated the anthropomorphic representations, come into consideration from the point of view of art.

Dhyana. The first group belongs, according to its nature, to Yoga. After having attained to the requisite condition of complete independence from the senses and of most sensitive ecstasy, by means of spiritual and physical exercises, the believer calls upon the divinity by means of mental concentration (dhyana): the divinity, endowed with all the characteristics of his dignity, appears to him in a vision, becomes one with him, and allows him to participate in his magical power. (12)

Manifestation in visible form. In the other group of notions, the divinity manifests himself in visible form in an image or figure. He is always thought of as present therein, but in an unconscious, slumbering state. He is awakened to life and activity by the prânapratisthâ (animation) ceremony whereby the light and the energy (tejas) of the worshipper are communicated to the latent strength in the image.(13)

The above description is rough and formula-like, and combines the most salient notions under one heading.

The calling on the divinity through practices of meditation may take place with the loftiest intentions—no less than the entire deliverance can be brought about!—and also with the most condemnable motives, such as the desire for the power of black magic in order to obtain earthly treasures, women and the like. Thus let us also examine the image wherein the divinity manifests itself for different sects and individuals of differing value. The sects which have made the greatest progress along the path of the most lofty monism, recognise that man, incapable of imagining the divine, may aid his faculty of ideas by a symbol. Place over against this the conception of people who do not comprehend the higher unity between the Universal-soul and the Individual-soul, that is the great mass of people. (14) The divinity, descended into an image, is worshipped by them as a mighty prince and on the whole in a uniform manner. The temple is his earthly palace, where he is served and provided for by priests, just as is the prince by his servants. In the morning he is awakened by songs of praise, he is washed, anointed and clothed in state garments; food is offered to him; he holds audience and hears the supplications of his subjects, who reverently approach him with gifts, and solicit his favour. Sometimes, like a prince, he is brought out to breathe the fresh air or to bathe in the river, or, seated in his state palanquin, to show himself to the populace. (15) The visionary, as well as the tangible manifestation of the divinity, thus represent different values for the different believers. This should be kept in mind, because in the following pages no distinction is made between the conceptions and representations.

A knowledge of the forms in which the divinity appears is a first essential. In the forms of worship in which the divinity appears to the believer in a vision, or, having descended into an image, stands visibly before his eyes, it is of the utmost importance to know with great accuracy the outward and visible forms of the divinity. If the image of the divinity which is called up by the dhyana is not formed exactly correctly, and if it differ from the norm in any respect, however seemingly insignificant it may be, then it is not the divinity which appears before them, but a false illusion without godliness and without might. If the stone or bronze image, which is to animate the divinity, is not prepared according to

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(12) A clear description of this calling on the divinity is given by A. Foucher, Iconographie boudhique (1905), p. 7, etc. The Sivaite methods do not differ from those of Buddhism, in nature. *Cf.* Avalon, Tantra of the Great Liberation, (1913), Introduct. p. CXXV, etc.

(13) Avalon, op. cit. p. LXXVII., *cf.* J. Moens, Hindu-Javanese portraits, T. B. G. LVIII, p. 510. One can perhaps form the best idea of this ceremony by comparing the image to a lamp, in which the fuel is present, but only flames forth when a burning object is applied to it, and whose light then spreads everywhere.

(14) 'Sivan âtamni pasyanti pratimâsu na yoginah, ajnânam bhâwanârthaya pratimah parikalpitâh.' Yogins look upon Siva in himself, not in images; to assist ignorant minds to form this conception, images were made. Jâbâlaupanisad, G. Rao, op. cit. I, 1, p. 26.

(15) L. D. Barnett, Antiquities of India (1913), p. 79.

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requirements, then the *deva* will not recognise it as his material likeness. This cannot be awakened into life by the animation ceremony.

It will be useless and valueless for the public worship (16).

It is therefore a primary requisite for the success of every undertaking in which the worshipper calls upon or approaches the deity, to possess a complete knowledge of the forms in which the deity in general, and each divinity in particular, manifests itself. This knowledge is set down in the Sacred writings of the Hindus, especially in the Puranas and in the Tantras.

The Puranas. For the place occupied by these works in Indian literature and for their importance in the history of culture, the reader may consult the handbooks. (17) We need only remind him here that the Puranas, eighteen in number, have about the same value for the younger Indian religion, i.e. "Hinduism," as the Vedas had for the older Brahmanism. They are encyclopædic rhapsodies, dealing with five vast topics—the creation of the universe, the secondary creation and the metamorphosis (regeneration) of the universe, the genealogies of gods and saints, the patriarchal limits and the history of the older and the younger dynasties of princes—but in reality a miscellaneous mass of heterogenous subjects—law, ceremonial, ritual, philosophy, astrology, etc., etc.—being contained therein. The beginning of the 6th century A. D. is generally accepted as the time at which the most important Puranas took on their present form. (18)

The Tantras.—The Tantras are the Bibles of the sects of the Sâktas (19) (or Kaulas), which, in contradistinction to the Siva or Vishnu-worshipping Hindus, have devoted themselves in particular to the service of the female divinities (Saktis, the "energies" of the male gods) and who, on account of their ceremonies and practices, in which the phallus-cult and obscene orgies play an important part, are considered as of bad repute. (20) The Tantras, which are formed after the model of the Puranas, have also five subjects—the creation and annihilation of the creation, the worship of the gods, the attainment of superhuman powers and the union with the highest Being—however, they were chiefly concerned with mysticism and magic. According to Kern, the springtime of Tantra literature should not be placed before 700 A. D. (21) The two abovenamed categories of works, but more especially the Tantras, contain for the believing Hindu the complete knowledge of the forms in which the divinity appears.

Proportional system of Measuring. To this knowledge belongs, in the first instance, the doctrine of the measurements of the body of god, with all its subdivisions. A system of measurements which, like the old European measurements, are taken chiefly from the human body, is here used. The unit of "angulas" (inches), each of which again

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(16) Foucher, op. cit. p. 10: "it is absolutely necessary that no single trait of the divinity be disregarded: colour, posture, ornamentation of the body, number, gesture and attributes of the hands, no description can be too precise or in too great detail: this is the price on which the success of the operation depends."

(17) See Winternitz, "History of Indian Literature" (1909), I, p. 440, etc., and 481, etc., and the literature mentioned there.

(18) Of great importance in fixing the date of the Puranas, are the lists of kings occurring in the works. The latest investigations have shown these to be much more reliable than was previously supposed. Vincent A. Smith, "The Early History of India" (1904), p. 9, etc.

(19) According to the Tantric idea, each period possesses the holy writings (Shastras), which answer to the needs and requirements of mortals. The Vedas are destined for the Krta-yuga, the Dharmashastras for the Tretâ-yuga: the Puranas are destined for the Dwâpara-yuga, and the Tantras for the Kali-yuga (the present period). Avalon, in the work quoted, XLIX, etc. It is superfluous to say that this assertion, cleverly accepted by Avalon, is entirely relevant only to the Tantra, and does not in the least give the opinion of the civilised Hindu, non-Kaula.

(20) Literature, see Winternitz, op. cit. I, p. 481, etc., and II, p. 266, etc. Of the many Tantric editions and studies of Avalon (a pseudonym) I have here been able to consult only his "Tantra of the Great Liberation" (Mahanirwana-tantra), 1913.

(21) History of Buddhism in India (1884), p. 420. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Buddhism, Studies and Materials (1898) considers the Tantra literature comparatively very ancient. Against this, there are notes on very good authority, by Rapson, J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 909, etc.

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contains 12 "yawas" (grains of corn). These measures do not represent absolute, but relative, sizes, i. e. the "span" indicates the height of the face of the divine image to be made, and the "inch" (thumb) the breadth of the middle knuckle of the middle finger. Thus the measures differ in each individual case: in the case of an image which is twice as large as another one, the "span" is likewise double the length.

The relative measures of all parts of the image in which the minutest anatomical details, and even those which are scarcely visible from outside, are not forgotten—are summed up in the writings. Thus one Tantra (the Waikhanasagama) contains a list of not less than 256 such measurements, (22) out of which, for the sake of mere curiosity, we may mention those relating to the nose:

Length of the wing of the nose	2	angulas	2	yawas
Breadth	„	„	„	„	1	angula	1	yawa
Thickness	„	„	„	„	0	„	4½	yawas

The other dimensions of the body are measured in the same manner. We find 18 measurements of the eye, and 15 of the mouth, etc., etc.

The system, which is described very briefly here, is not the same for all divinities. Divinities with a normal human appearance, like Siva and Vishnu, are generally shaped according to the "nawatâla" (nine-span) system, whereby the total length of the body is 9 spans, i.e. nine times the height of the face. Divinities of a different posture are formed in accordance with a different system: the misshapen Ganesh follows the "panca–tala" (five-span) system, whereby the height of the head is one–fifth of the total height, in the same way Krishna when he is represented as a child.

Other Instructions. If anatomy plays an important part in the knowledge of the external forms in which the deity may appear, no less attention is paid to all which appertains to its clothing and outfit, such as crowns, personal adornments, attributes, throne seats, state chariots, sedan chairs, the forms and relative measurements of all of which are described and set down in detail. (23)

Personal characteristics of the deities. It stands to reason that the above enumerated instructions, which refer to all gods or groups of gods, are supplemented by the descriptions of the characteristics of each god in particular. In respect to that, also, the Tantras and the Puranas do not leave the devout in uncertainty. Be it Siva, whom the yogin wishes to invoke, then he should think of the god in his meditation in the following form: "Clad in tigerskins, wearing a snake as his sacred thread, his whole body covered in ashes, his five heads dark red, yellow, pink, white and red with three eyes each: he carries the Ganges on his head and has ten arms. In his left hands he carries respectively the skull-bowl, fire, the knot, the pinaka and the axe, and in his right hands respectively the trident, the thunder-arrow, and the arrow, and he gives the appearance of beneficence. He is seated on a bull, and is surrounded on all sides by Siddhas, Gandharvas and Apsaras, who sing songs in his honour." (24) Ganesh appears to the sadhaka: "Vermilion in complexion, with three eyes, a fat belly holding in his lotus-hands the shell, the knot, the elephant-hook and the waramudra. His trunk holds the wine jug. On his forehead there appears the increasing moon. All around his body lie the wrinkles of the Naga. His clothes are red and blue." (25) In the same way the hundreds of gods in the Hindu pantheon are characterised. Detailed descriptions are unnecessary, because all the general characteristics have indeed already been dealt with elsewhere.

Instructions for the building of shrines. Just as everything appertaining to the gods is executed in accordance with the rules set down in the sacred books, even so, in the first instance, the shrine, the palace of the deity, if he is to sojourn willingly therein, must be built in agreement with his revealed will. The selection of the site, the laying of the first stone, the placing of the image of the god in the inner room and the like

(22) G. Rao, "Elements of Hindu Eonography," Vol. I, Pt. II, App. B.

(23) G, Rao, op. cit., Vol. I, Pt. p. 1599.
(24) Avalon, op. cit. p. 338.
(25) Ditto, p. 250.

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ceremonies, all take place in accordance with definite ritual instructions: even the choice of the material, the measuring out of the plot, the construction, the form and the decoration of the edifice itself, are all subject to strict rules.

The task of the Silpins. The instructions which have reference to the external forms of the gods and their whole outfit (in which the shrine is included) are binding, in the first instance, on the builders and the sculptors. Their task is to fashion the images of the gods, which are to comply with the formulated requirements, and to build the temples which are to be chosen by the gods as their abode. They are, as it were, responsible for the usefulness and suitableness of the objects required for religion. However, the large size of the Purana and Tantra literature made these works unsuitable as manuals for the artists. Moreover, the Tantra contain a secret teaching, which might have been passed on by word of mouth from one initiated person to another. It thus seems obvious that what was necessary for the Silpin's work was compiled from the available sacred literature, from which everything was taken, which they needed for the correct execution of their profession. (26) These are the so-called *Silpashastras,* authoritative treatises about architecture and sculpture, the nature and importance of which we must now examine.

The authors. It is not known who the authors of the *Silpashastras* are. (27) Like so many authoritative Indian works, they are in the name of Rishis, Heavenly Seers, or of Viswakarman, the builder of the gods, who is supposed to have received his knowledge by a revelation of Siva.

Date. The date, too, when the works were written, is enshrouded in darkness. The fact, confirmed in many shastras, that their contents are drawn from the Tantra literature (28), a fact as to which, in view of the hybrid-like character of the treatises, there can be no doubt—leads us to surmise that the *Silpashastras* did not assume their present form before the 8th century A. D. the beginning of the golden age of Tantra literature. (29) It is not at all impossible that the portions out of which they are put together are of much greater antiquity.

How many Silpashastras were there? How many *Silpashastras* there were in ancient times it is impossible to guess. According to one not very reliable source, (30) there are supposed to have been 64, a figure which is probably borrowed from that of the fine arts (kalas). However much of this may be true, it is certain that the various religious sects had their own manuals, and that these works, though mostly arranged in like manner and dealing with the same subjects, represented various traditions and differed from each other on many points.

Publications. Scant interest has always been shown by Indian scholars in the very large technical literature. From ancient times architecture and sculpture were practised exclusively by the not very highly esteemed professional caste of the Silpins, and the works on these subjects counted as inferior in their eyes. The scholars of the European school, too, until quite recently, did

(26) One Tantra says: 'One is not to profess the Kaula doctrine in the presence of the uninitiated, just as little as one would recite the Vedas in the presence of a Sudra. One must guard the Kaula doctrine against the uninitiated, just as one guards money and grain and clothes against thieves: one must keep the Kaula doctrine concealed, just like water in a cocoanut, one must be a Kaula in one's heart, a Sivaite before the outside world and a Vishnuite at public meetings: the Vedas, the Shastras and the Puranas are, like common women, accessible to everyone, but the mystical Kaula doctrine is like a woman of noble birth, who is kept apart." Monier Williams, op. cit. p. 191.

(27) The literature abount the Silpashâstras is given in the Note hereafter. "Silpa" means "handicraft," "department," "trade," "art," the best rendering of "silpin" is the French word "artizan."

(28) A. C. Burnell, "A Classified India to the Skr. Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore," (1879) I, p. 61.

(29) This dating is not contrary to the comparative antiquity of the Bharatsamhita of Warahamihira, an astrological work of about 550 A.D. in which there is a Silpasâstra in a rudimentary form. Several centuries were surely necessary for the body of technical writings to swell to such a bulk as is contained in a work like the Mânasâra. Acarya, "A Summary of the Manasara" (1918) places the M. at about 500 A.D., without any further argumentation as to the early date.

(30) Ram Raz, "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus" (1834) p. 1.

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not pay much attention to the *Silpashastras*. After the work of the Pandit Ram Raz, "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus," which appeared in 1834, and which was an excellent work for its time, wherein attention is called to the great importance of a study of the old writings on architecture, and which contained fragments from the Manasâra, (31) a work of especial authority in Southern India, and from three other Southern Indian *Silpashastras*,—the masterly translation of Kern has made accessible (32) the Bharatsamhita an astrological work wherein there occurs a treatise on architecture and sculpture which is unfortunately very fragmentary and incomplete. Finally, Acharya published in 1918 a table of contents of the Manasara, (33) from which work Ram Raz had already quoted: this publication here and there supplements and improves the information given by Ram Raz, but the total lack of commentaries, and the leaving unexplained nearly all the technical terms, causes us to look forward with great desire to the complete edition and translation of the work, which is now being prepared. (34).

The Manasara. The Manasara is thus about the only source which enables us to form an idea of the nature of the ancient Indian art canons. What strikes us first, on examining this work more closely, is the dissimilarity of the contents. Next to the chapters referring to architecture and sculpture proper, one finds a conglomeration of subjects which have but little connection therewith, such as, for instance, omens and portents and all kinds of ceremonies, amongst others that of the ploughing of the soil on which the edifice is to rise (wâstu), the laying of the first stone, the placing of the image in the inner room, the placing of the headpiece, etc. subjects which have more to do with religion that with architecture. Still stranger is it to meet in the Manasara a treatise on the rights and duties of the prince, wherein even the various systems of taxation are dealt with.

Causes or origin. This dissimilarity arises partly from the fact that the Hindus regarded the ceremonial functions at the establishment of edifices as of at least equal importance for their durability and habitableness as the purely technical regulations; in one treatise which might have pretensions to completeness, the former or the latter might be missing. This peculiarity was partly due to the fact that the *Silpashastras* did not arise "all at one stroke," but were compiled from all kinds of other works, and in the course of the centuries grew, and came to include all sorts of foreign elements as well. It was expressly stated in the Manasara that the chapter on the prince is taken from the Vedas, the Puranas and the Sastras (by this is meant the Dharmasastras); the intention of this statement is not, as we might easily believe, to spare the compiler from the reproach of plagiarism, but it is to give his own work greater authority by the mention of the especially authoritative sources from which he has drawn.

Compilatory character of the technical treatises. The compilatory character of the *Silpashastras* explains at the same time the contradictions, superfluities and gaps, which one finds there in great numbers. The various systems of measurement are mentioned in the Manasâra in three different places: instructions for the laying of the foundation are given twice: the chapter on Jain images contains all kinds of things which have already been discussed elsewhere, and is undoubtedly a fairly late interpolation, in the same way, a chapter on the bye-temple of a set of temples, which is obviously taken over from a Vishnuite writing.

The love for classification and rubrics. A second striking characteristic of the *Silpashastras* is one which they have in common with many Indian works of a didactic nature. We mean the love for classification and rubric, hand in hand with which goes the passion for expressing everything in figures and for giving a name to everything. These and the peculiarities just discussed are best

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(31) Mânasâra means "Short Summary of Geometry."

(32) J. R. S. New Series, Vols. IV, V, VI, and VII. Verspr. Geschr I, p. 169, etc., and II, p. 1, etc.

(33) Prasanna Kumar Acharya, A Summary of the Mânasâra, a treatise on Architecture and cognate subject, Leyden Dissertation, 1918. For the mention of the literature on the *Silpashastras*, see the Note hereafter.

(34) Acharya, op. cit. p. 6.

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illustrated by the contents of two chapters; they are characteristic of all of the others also. (35)

Models. The chapter on buildings in general (wimânas) deals without any semblance of regularity or of method successively with the laying of the foundation: with the classification of buildings according to the number of their floors (from one to twelve: each class is again subdivided into three types: large, medium, and small): with the roof formations, named "nagara," "dravida" and "wesara;" with the form and the measurements of the top piece (for the dwellings of sudras, vaisyas, crown princes, kshattriyas, brahmins and gods, the respective heights being 1, 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4 ells.); with the building materials; with the parts of the edifice, named "stupikila," "lupa" and "mukhabhadra," (36) and to conclude with the ceremonies at the placing of the "stupikila."

The next chapter, dealing with one-floor buildings completes the already given classification. Wimânas are still differentiated according to the system of measurement used in the construction (in 4 groups, named jati, chanda, wikalpa and abhasa): according to the proportion of height, length and breadth (in 3 groups, named sthânaka, âsana and sayana), and according to their form, masculine if they are equiangular or round, and feminine if they are rectangular. In all we have already become acquainted with five divisions. Then there is still a sixth, in which there are 8 types named respectively jayantika, bhoga, srivisala, swastibandhana, srikara, hastipristha, skandhatara and kesara. (37)

Figures. Less poetical than these and similar epithets, with which classes, varieties, types, subdivisions, in fact, everything which is capable of being named, are indicated, are the masses of the figures which fill the sastras. Whether there is mention of the pilaster or of the top-piece, of the princely sedan chair or of the god's palanquin, of cages for domestic animals or of signs of worthiness of the cakravartin, one cannot escape from rows of figures which fix the measurements and proportions of all parts of the edifice, with all the subdivisions. We shall here give one example, and with that we shall have done, for good and all, with this madness for figures. Divide the height of the upapîtha (base of temple) into 26 parts, give three of these to the upana, one to the kampa, 2 to the padma, one to the kampa, 11 to the kantha, one to the kampa, 2 to the padma, 3 to the kapota, one to the alinga and one to the antarita.

Instructions for sacred and profane art. A last characteristic of the Sastras, to which we shall here call attention, is the fact that they usually contain instructions for profane, as well as for sacred art, a distinction which is not felt as such by the Hindus. According to his notion, human society is a divine institution, and the proportion of the various groups of individuals to each other are set down by unchangeable laws and firmly established in authoritative books. If the earthly abode of the deity is built in accordance with revealed instructions, then he who follows him in rank, namely the prince, has no liberty to build and to occupy a residence of his own choice. For his own happiness and that of his subjects, the writings ordain what requirements must be fulfilled as regards the palace of the prince. The princes of the blood, too, the ministers, brahmins, kshattriyas, vaisyas and sudras, are only to inhabit such houses as answer to their rank and position.

Significance of the technical treatise for the development of Hindu art. As we shall still have occasion presently to tarry longer over various parts of the Mânasara, let us now examine what significance the technical literature, to which the Mânasara belongs, has had for the development of Hindu art.

The Silpashastras and Aesthetics. Writers, who have consulted the *Silpashastras* for their studies on architecture and sculpture, have often given the impression that the technical instructions has a purely

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(35) Acharya, op. cit. p. 19, etc.

(36) The "stupikila" is the "pinnacle" of the top piece: the "lupa" is a lower portion of the roof, and the "mukhabhadra" the niche in the centre of a facade.

(37) These names, as far as they are translatable, denote: The offspring of Indra, the Profit (enjoyment), the Illustrious one, the Prosperity-bringing edifice, the Red Lotus, the Elephant's back, Skandhatara (?), the Stamen.

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æsthetic tendency, and that they might be compared with the famous Graeco-Roman art rules of Vitruvius and other classical authors. If one takes this standpoint one is in danger of misunderstanding the true character of these writings.

The task of the Silpin is not to create beauty, wherein men may rejoice, but to prepare designs which shall be useful for public worship, that is to say, that the deity is to find executed there his revealed will. The revelations may harmonise with the laws of beauty, for instance, when the dimensions set down for the images are taken from the ideal human figure. Just as often, however, they are flagrantly at variance with aesthetics. Such is the case with the images of gods, for which an unnatural number of measurements for limbs and heads is set down. If the artists were capable of forming figures of an extremely-wild beauty, out of the misshapen monsters with towers of heads and bundles of arms and legs, then this is in spite of, and not thanks to, the iconographic instructions. Thus, that which we call "beauty" may indeed enhance the value of an object of worship in the eyes of the Hindu, but nevertheless it remains a non-essential. An image, which is fashioned exactly in accordance with the rules—the dimensions, the attributes, the colour, the countenance, etc., being selected properly—fulfils the ritual requirements, even though it may be inferior as a work of art. Conversely, a piece of sculpture, in the production of which the artist gave free play to his imagination, is valueless in the eyes of the Hindu, even though it be a masterpiece as a work of art. (38)

The same is true of architecture. Whenever, in the Sastras, the Silpins are admonished to carry out the instructions faithfully in all things, this is not done with the idea that any neglect might injure the æsthetic effect. The results which would be caused by any neglect of the divine revelations are much more real in nature. Whenever the pedestal is made too small—thus we read in one Sastra—the builder shall lose his eyesight (39); whenever the pinnacle is made either too large or too small, the population shall be stricken with poverty. A door which does not open easily—this is the warning of another Sastra (40)—causes trouble from thieves, etc., etc.

The instructions are thus not given in order to prevent the Silpins from lapses as regards æsthetics, but to guard him against committing faults, faults which would result in the direct calamities.

Influence of theory on practice. Did the Silpins always follow the directions given in the writings? On turning over the leaves of the Manasara, one has the impression that much of what is contained therein is "grey" theory, into which only little of the sunshine of practice has penetrated. Would the artist who had to make an image for a temple always measure the length of the nose in conformity with the requirement of the instructions? Or would the carpenter make the cages for the royal domestic animals exactly as required by the Manasara: for a turtle dove 7 to 23 angulas long, for a parrot 9 to 23 angulas, etc.? Thus one becomes incredulous, and is finally convinced that all the directions are nothing but self-conceited pedantry, for which the real artists cared little or nothing.

The handing down of the theoretical writings. And yet this was certainly not the case. One may assume that the writings on architecture, as one finds them in the Puranas, Tantras and Silpashastras, were not thought out by the authors of the writings, but that they were borrowed by them, at least for the most part, from the art which flourished at a given period. At the time of

(38) "It may be said that images are to the Hindu worshipper what diagrams are to the geometrician. To the latter, an ill-drawn free-hand circle serves the same purpose in his demonstration as a neat compass-drawn circle. Similarly, to the Hindu even an ill-shaped image, but one made according to the directions given in his Sastras, serves the same object as a very artistically executed image, provided it is made in strict conformity with Sastric rules. Hindu worshippers of images ignore beauty passively: and this negligence of artistic merit on their part has tended to make the sculptor very often a careless worker." G. Rao, op. cit. II, p. 28.

(39) Acharya, op. cit. p. 71.

(40) Kern, Bhratsamhita, Verspr. Geschr. II, p. 22.

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the canonisation of the instructions—a time which one must imagine as in the very remote past—theory and practice of architecture thus coincided. The theory is set down in writings, the most important of which are the *Silpashastra*. The language of the oldest of the editions of these works is such corrupt and barbarous Sanskrit that one can hardly imagine that anyone other than the "uneducated" Silpins were the authors. (41) The later the Shâstras, the more corrupt they are. The very latest of the treatises are cacographies, interspersed with words from the vernaculars, unintelligible to Sanskrit scholars, who do not know how to interpret the many technical terms, as well as to the Silpins, who have no knowledge of Sanskrit. (42) The lamentable condition in which the texts have been damaged, may easily be explained by the fact that the authoritative directions were always handed down orally, from the guru to the apprentice, or—what generally comes to the same thing—from father to son in the Silpin families. Generally without knowing the meaning of that which was taught, the artisans handed down the tradition with the deep reverence which the Hindu attaches to the spoken word. In the course of the ages, the Sanskrit which was not understood became maimed, and completed by random explanations in the language of the populace: the great mass of the directions went astray, so that, at the present day, hardly a single memorial verse, the meaning of which is guessed rather than understood, has remained in the heads of artisans.

The handing down of applied architecture. Beside this dead art-theory, another theory had its course, namely, that of the living practice of art. Just as the theoretical rules were handed down from mouth to mouth, from generation to generation, thus applied architecture was carried on from eye to eye, from teacher to pupil with the exact obedience which is born of veneration for tradition. The most rigid Indian conservatism could not, however, prevent architecture—the most social of all arts—from undergoing and taking up and utilising all sorts of influences. The pious fiction that art remained true to itself and in all respects remained obedient to the unchangeable divine revelations, might still subsist, but in reality it slowly and steadily disentangled itself from the pressure of the writings. In proportion as the orally handed-down laws became mutilated, and as their significance became lost in the darkness, so did the influence of theory over practical architecture decrease. Finally, the art began to live a life of its own, which could express itself freely in various ways in the various regions.

The development of sculpture. Sculpture followed a different line of development. If one may describe the theory and practice of architecture by two lines which have one point in common and then diverge from it until they are far apart from one another, the same figure may hold good for sculpture with the sole difference that, in this case, the lines run along close to one another and are almost parallel. Indian sculpture had not, like architecture, an important social significance, nor was it open to all kinds of influences from without. Since the time when the rules, which give it its prescribed norms, were first canonised, they have not liberated themselves from the bonds of tradition. The canonical writings did not only make the art uniform all over India—a Southern Indian image does not differ much from one of Bengal or Bombay, apart from a few details, the execution of which was permitted to the Silpins by the Shâstras—they also fixed the art. (43) One can scarcely speak of any development. When one compares works of

(41) Acharya. op. cit. 2nd hypothesis, and Preface p. 5.

(42) Burgess, The Architectural Antiquities of N. Gujrat (1903), p. 22: "The Salats (=Silpins) are ignorant of Sanskrit, and possess only rough and untrustworthy abstracts of versions of the works." Hadway, O. A. Z. III, p. 35: "I have never been able to find a single Sanskrit scholar who understood enough of the technical and artistic terms in use to translate directly into English." Coomaraswamy, "Sinhalese Art," p. 162: "This literature has evidently remained for centuries in the hands of craftsmen, whose knowledge of Sanskrit as a language was usually slight, though they might know the text by heart. They relied on verbal glosses in the vernaculars, Tamil and Telugu in Southern India, and Sinhalese in Ceylon." *Cf.* also Ram Raz, op. cit., Introduction.

(43) G. Rao, op. cit. I, I Introduct. p. 47.

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various periods, (44) it is alarmingly obvious that, in the course of eight centuries the art has not changed at all or very little, and that the artists, if they still deserve the name, have always been content with merely following the old, well-known prototypes. Only quite recently a younger generation, under Western influence, has turned down other channels.

It would, of course, be incorrect to explain the death-sleep of Indian sculpture solely by the sway held by the Shâstras. Had there really been a strong desire for rejuvenation and renewal on the part of the artists, then this would have pushed its way through any cordon of prescribed instructions, and in the same manner as in the case of architecture, practice would have disentangled itself from theory. Where the strong desire did not exist, or in any case, where it was not strong enough to overcome the force of the canon, the deeper cause of the immutability of sculpture is to be sought in the psychology of the artists themselves. The rôle of the Shâstras as regards the latter is then brought back to its real extent.

WERE TECHNICAL INSTRUCTIONS KNOWN IN JAVA ALSO ?

After this digression, let us return to Java. We remember that we went to seek an Indian style of architecture, wherein we might find the prototype of the ancient Javanese buildings, and that, disappointed, we came to the conclusion that there is no close relationship at all between the Indian and Javanese architectures, and that not a single indication could be found that the art was "imported" to Java ready-made from any part of India.

Now that we have followed up the significance of the technical instructions for Indian art, we shall now try to discover whether similar traditions were known in Java. For, as far as we know, there are no *Silpashastras* in the collections of ancient Javanese MSS of Batavia and Leyden; and these collections were gathered together for the most part in North Bali, and, if our information is correct, there must be some further treatises on architecture, in private possession, in the South of the island. Personally, I have only been able to examine one copy of a very corrupt Bali manuscript, entitled "Dharmalaksana" (i. e. "Characteristics of Shrines"); it contains instructions for carpenters (hoendagi or wardhakî), (45) and though it is not of direct importance for architecture and sculpture, it is highly remarkable in various ways. This work is attributed to Viswakaraman, the builder of the gods, in whose name various Sanskrit *Silpashastras* also stand. Various portions of the contents show an undeniable relationship with identical passages out of Sanskrit writings, thus, for example, the designations for the divisions of beams, the instructions defining what kinds of dwellings gods, princes, priests, mantrîs and small people are to inhabit, and the like. Thus there can be no doubt that the Bali work was taken, probably, through the medium of an ancient Javanese translation or version, from a Sanskrit original, and probably more especially out of a subdivision of a *Silpashastra*, that on the department of woodwork (Sandhikarma). (46)

If there were manuals for carpenters in Bali and in Ancient Java, just as there were in India, then undoubtedly the *Silpashastras*, to which the treatises belonged, must have been in use also.

Explanation of the lack of Silpashastras *in Java.* Meanwhile, it is remarkable that, of the technical literature, including the above-mentioned relics, so very little has been handed down to us. We may find a not unlikely explanation for this in the above-mentioned fact that in India the theoretical instructions were for centuries handed down orally from generation to generation. Nothing hinders us from believing that the same thing took place in Java, just as, until the present day, in Bali. (47)

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(44) *See* also the bronze images dating from various periods (images of Siva-natesa), in O. C. Gangoly's "South-Indian bronzes."

(45) *See* v. d. Tuuk, K. B. Wb. I, p. 50 and s. v. astakosala II p. 199: "there was probably also a small prose work about the handicrafts."

(46) *Cf.* Acharya, op. cit. p. 18.

(47) I heard of a typical example of this lately from the former assistant resident of South Bali, Mr. H. J. E. F. Schwartz. He told me that he had once stood and looked on, while a

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The Tantras in Java. But, even if we have proved that the *Silpashastras* in the form in which we know them, were not introduced into Java, one cannot conclude from that, that there were no technical instructions in Java. As the *Silpashastras* were drawn for the most part from the Puranas and the Tantras, and as these works, according to unimpeachable evidences, were highly reputed in Java, (48) we may probably assume *a priori* that the instructions for architecture and sculpture which were contained therein, also found entrance in this country.

Is there in Java any trace of the Influence of the technical Instructions over the art? In order to be sure on this matter, let us examine whether there are any traces of the influence of the instructions in Indo-Javanese art. We may think ourselves fortunate that the only guide which is at our disposal, the Mânasâra, summaries and extracts of which have been published by Ram Raz and Acharya in their works which we have mentioned several times, is a treatise which arose and was used in Southern India. As far as we know, the Hindu influence coming from the South of the peninsula had the greatest effect upon Java. The chance that the specifically South-Indian art canons were in force in Java also, is therefore, in the circumstances, particularly great.

We shall first take into consideration the column and its sub-divisions: the column occupies a position in Indian architecture which is almost as important as in the Grecian, Upapitha and Adhisthâna. The Shâstra distinguishes the Upapîtha (49) (pedestal), the Adhisthâna (foot), the Stambha (column, in which is included the capital) and the Prastara (cornice). The column standing by itself does not occur in Java, but we have the pilaster, for which the above mentioned division is applicable. Moreover, the Mânasâra expressly stated that the Upapîtha and the Adhisthâna, each separately or combined, were used as an under-building for shrines, as foot-pieces for images, in short, as parts of edifices with a bearing function. We should thus be in a position to compare the ancient Javanese temple bases, foot-pieces of images, etc., with the types of Upapîthas and Adhisthânas prescribed by the Mânasâra.

Upapîtha and Adhisthâna were sharply distinguished from one another in the *Silpashastras.* The former is always recognisable by the Kantha: the "perpendicular" ("neck," "throat"), taken between the foot and the cornice, which is measured by the

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woodcutter was busy cutting out an image: he had asked the woodcutter how it was that he was giving such curious, unnatural forms to his productions, which my authority could only moderately admire. He received the reply that the productions of the various parts of the body were not to be selected at will, but were bound by hard and fast rules. Thus the height of the forehead had to be equal to that of the nose, which again had to equal the chin: the height of the face was in a fixed proportion to the height of the whole body, etc. When my authority further asked the cutter whether all cutters followed these rules in their work, the reply was: "No, only those who have been taught by good masters."

(48) About the Tantras, *see* Dr. B. Schrieke, "From the History of the Adat land law," T. B. G. LXI, p. 148, etc. It is very remarkable that in the cathegetic S. Hy. Kamahayanikan and many collections of mantras (which last-named texts probably belong to the Tantric literature, without being Tantras themselves), practically nothing of the Tantric literature, which must nevertheless have flourished in Java, has been handed down to us. We assume that the same explanation holds good for this phenomenon, as is given for the lack of relics of the technical literature. The essence of the strictly esoteric teaching was not written down, but was passed on orally; the mantras, however, could be written down without any danger, because they owed their secret power to the particular mode of intonation, the accompanying mudras, dhyanas, etc., which nobody could master without instruction from a guru.

(49). It is advisable to use the Sanskrit terms for the parts of the Indo-Javanese monuments as far as possible. Hitherto the technical terms were borrowed from Graeco-Roman or European architecture, which gave rise to confusion, as the objects designed thereby do not always coincide with each other completely. An idea which is as clearly defined as "Upapîtha" was only approximately rendered by: pedestal, basement, sub-basement, socle, foot, lower foot, terrace, under-terrace, under-structure, and other terms by which this part of the edifice is usually designated. A second reason why preference should be given to the use of the Sanskrit terms as against the Graeco-European ones, is that in the former, we generally have a far better expression of the significance which the Indian architects attached to the parts of the edifice. Padma (lotus), kumuda (white lotus), kantha (the "neck" of a pedestal), pada and sikhara (the "leg" and the "head" of a building) tell us much more than do "plane," "hemisphere," "perpendicular," "temple body" and "top."

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Adhisthâna. In the latter, the combination of hemisphere-plane (kumuda-padma) often occurs. If the Upapîtha and the Adhisthâna were used in combination, then the latter rested upon the former. The Mânasâra gives a detailed description of the borders (reglets) and bands which form the profile of the parts of buildings mentioned: there are nine varieties of the straight borders, differing from each other as to height and projection: there are seven varieties of round bands. The Upapîthas and Adhisthânas do not find exemption from classification any more than the other parts of the edifice. The former are divided into three classes, each being sub-divided into four types. The latter are classified into sixteen kinds, most of which are again sub-divided.

Now, what is the appearance of the sub-basements of the Central Javanese buildings? Just as in the *Silpashastra*, Upapîtha and Adhisthâna, here too, are always and everywhere sharply distinguished from one another. The Upapîtha, the lowest foot of the building, is always recognisable by the Kantha, the "neck," which is taken between, or is even interrupted by, borders and bands of varying profile. The Adhisthâna rests upon the Upapîtha, and consists almost always of a combination of plane and hemisphere padma and kumuda. (50) On this sub-structure, consisting of Upapîtha and Adhisthâna, the actual body of the temple rests.

Ram Raz's confused description of the various types of reglets and circles does not lend itself well to a comparison with the conformable ancient-Javanese profiles. For as far as one can see, all of them also occur in Java (Pl. 1) with one peculiar exception. One part of the profile which is often mentioned in the Mânasâra, and which also occurs very frequently in the South-Indian buildings, is the so-called Kapota, *lit.* "pigeon," a projecting, point hanging downwards, which does indeed remind one somewhat of the head of a pigeon. We vainly seek this ornament on the foot of the Javanese temples. On the other hand, very frequent use is made in Java of a motif which is generally called hook-antefix (though we think the name is not prefixed anywhere but it forms the part of a straight reglet) and which shows some likeness to the Indian Kapota, but having the point turned upwards. Whether the Javanese hook-antefix answers to the Kapota of the Shâstra, and whether this deviation was allowed, or whether it is to be attributed to a wrong interpretation of the instruction, may be decided when the text of the Mânasâra is published.

Ornamentation of the parts of the profile. Before passing on to another part of the buildings, it is worthy of mention that the Mânasâra prescribes (51) that the padmas (planes) are to be ornamented with lotus leaves: the straight reglets with strings of jewels, blossoms, leaves, etc., and the kantha of the basement with representations of Vyâlas, (52) simhas (lions) or with leaves, flowers and the like.

This is precisely what one sees on the Javanese buildings. The padmas (planes) of the tjandis Prambanan and Djago are indeed worked in the shape of lotus leaves, and if the planes of other shrines have remained smooth, this is probably solely due to the fact, which we have already pointed out so often, that, as far as ornamentation is concerned, there is hardly a single temple in Java which has remained whole. (53) Straight reglets are often decorated by garlands of jewels, or by flower and leaf motifs, birds, etc., while representations of elephants, lions and other animals, or chains of flowers, leaves and the like, are decorative designs occurring frequently on the kanthas of ancient Javanese

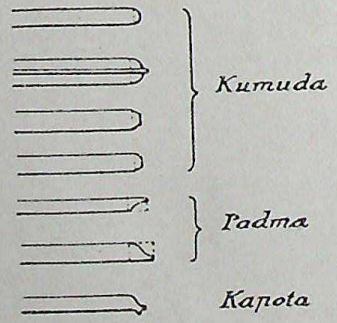
(50) One of the most characteristic differences between the Central and East Javanese architectures is in the profile of the basement. In East Java (from the Singosaric period onwards) the profile of the Adhisthâna has become equal to that of the Upapîtha: both parts of the edifice there show the kantha between the foot and the cornice. The body of the temple, too, is treated in East Java as an Upapîtha, and consists of foot-kantha-cornice. Tjandi Djago's profile has thus become a mile of 4 upapîthas one on top of the other. *See* the instructive drawing of the standard profiles of E. and Central Java, on Plate 37 Kapp. Oudheik. Comm., 1903.

(51) Ram Raz, op. cit. p. 27.—but also: "beast of prey in general" and "tiger," "leopard," "panther" in particular.

(52) Vyâla—means generally "wild elephant,"

(53) *See* the Note hereafter.

Plate 1.



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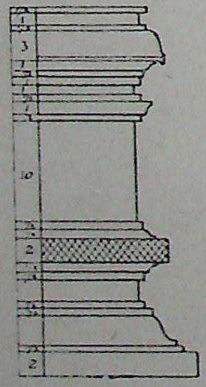

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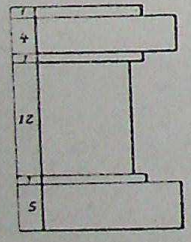

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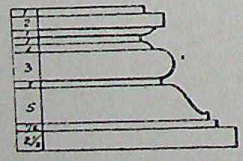

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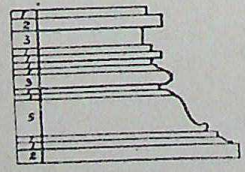

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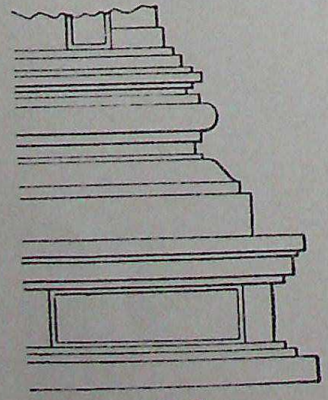
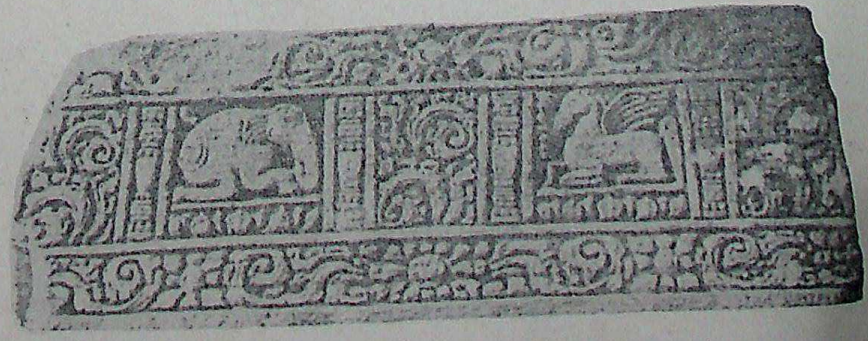


a. Reglets and projetions (Mānsāra).
b. c. Models of upapitha (Mānasāra).

Plate 2.

a.

b.



c.

a. Ornamented reglets (Dieng-plateau.)
b. Kantha of a temple upapitha.
c. Entablature from Gilang.

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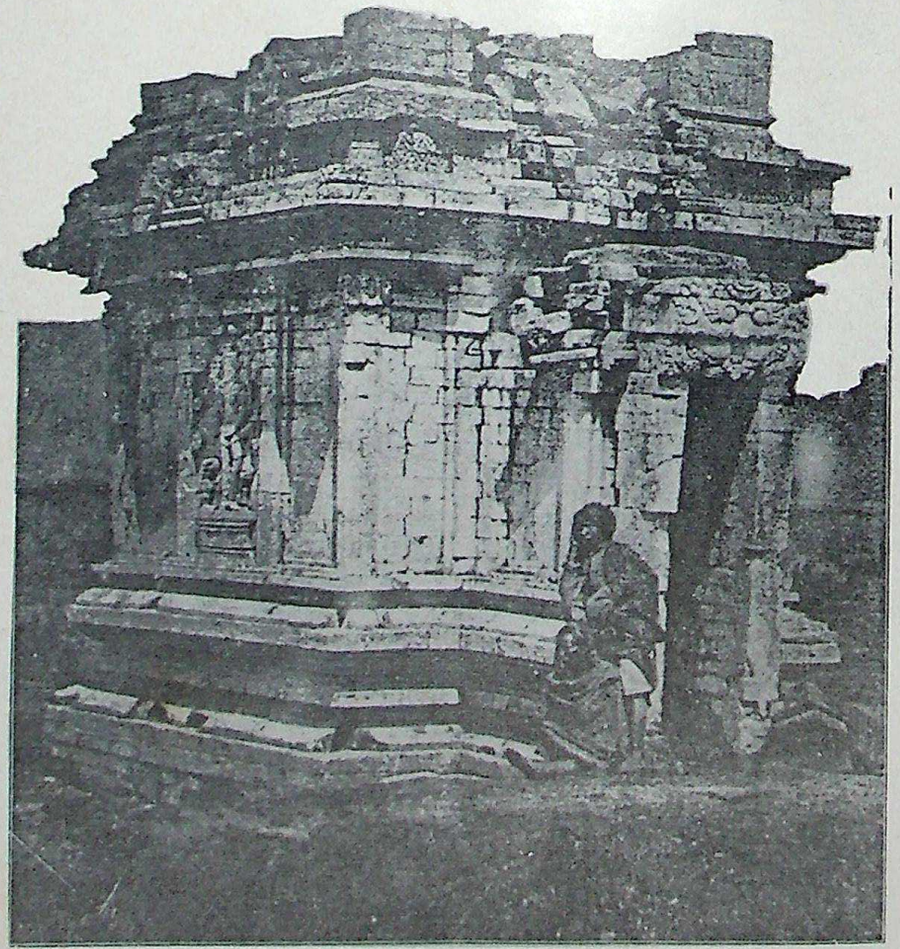
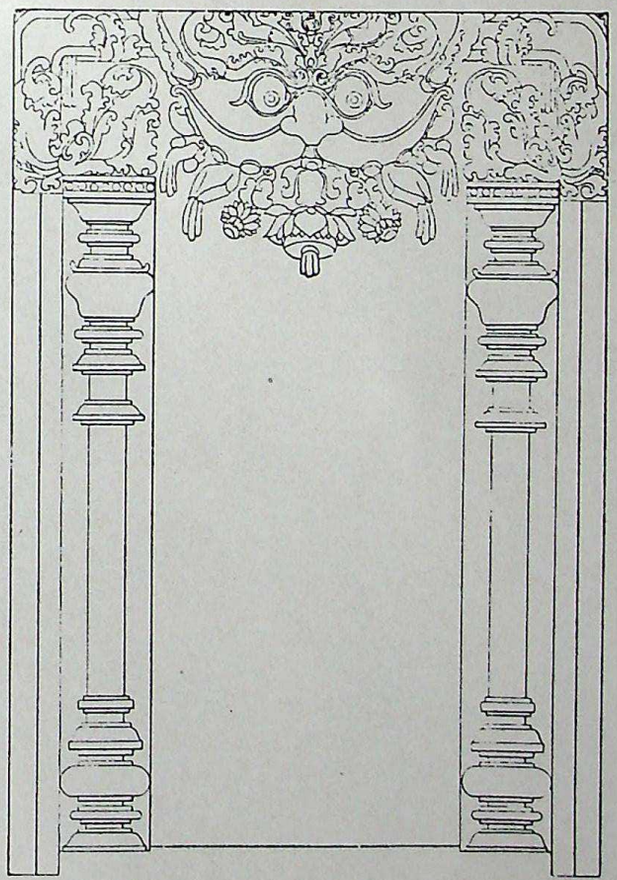
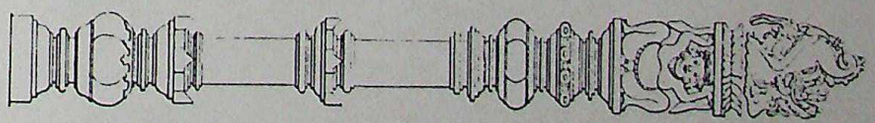


Tjandi Srikandi.



a. Pilaster from Tjandi Mendoet.

b. Pilaster from Tjandi Sewœ.



c. Pilaster from Tjandi Sewœ.

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temple basements. Let us think only of the tjandis of Mendoet, Pawon, Sadjiwan, and others. As a curiosity we shall mention one more prescription from another chapter, (54) which says that the cornice of a building may be decorated by a row of geese (the mount of Brahma). Now, at the excavation of the stone mass on the west side of the tjandi of Prambanan site, there was recently unearthed a piece of the cornice of the chief temple, whereon a row of finely executed geese is depicted.

The column. That chapter of the Mânasâra which deals with the actual column (or pilaster) with the capital, is of especial importance for old-Javanese architecture. Unfortunately, in this branch also, that which is published is too incomplete or too confused for a comparison to be possible with the Javanese monuments except in a few points. The chapter in question deals respectively with the measurements of columns (the height in proportion to the section), their form, ornamentation and profile, the requisite materials, and the ceremonies performed at the erection.

The column or pilaster may be square, and is then called Brahmakanta, but it may also have more sides, and is then called respectively Vishnukanta, Rudrakanta, Sivakanta or Skandakanta. The Brahmakantas occur in Java on almost all buildings as corner pilasters of the body of the temple. But the many-sided pilaster is also not unknown in Java, for we have the Srikandi tjandi on the Dieng, where one sees an octangular Vishnukanta as a corner pilaster. (Pl. 3.)

Of the various types of pilasters, let us take now the least confusing of the descriptions in Ram Raz's work, (55) and let us compare it with one of the pilasters of the sidewalls of the Mendoet tjandi. (Pl. 4). According to the Mânasâra, the decorative designs of the pilaster in question are—from top to bottom—a Virakantha, i.e., a panel with a male figure (vira), resting on the Phalaka (a sort of lotus capital); the Kumbha (waterjug); three profiles named Herika, Asya and Tatika (?) and, at the base, a Kalasa (waterjug) the upper part of which is in the shape of of Durdhura flower, (56) while the lower part is adorned with strings of pearls. As far as observation goes, the designs mentioned are found on the pilaster of the Mendoet tjandi. (57)

The two principal designs, the Kumbha and the Kalasa, (58) are to be found in most of the types of pilasters of Central Java. Generally they are so much ornamented, that the original form can scarcely be recognised, but in others they have retained their original character. Thus in the Sewoe tjandi, lotus flowers are placed in the lowest water-jug, while the shaft of the pilaster rises out of the opening of the same jug (pl. 4); to our taste a less happy combination, but one from which one sees at its clearest how strongly the essential character of the Kalasa design is still felt.

On should further notice that the body of the same pilaster-jug of the Sewoe tjandi is adorned with strings of pearls. In this detail, too, one may assume execution of the instruction given in the Shâstra.

The Cornice. The description of the column is followed in the Mânasâra by the chapter on the cornice (prastara), whereof once again the relative measurement and profiles are given in detail. One of the most important parts seems to be the Lupa, a sloping, bent piece which also occurs on most of the Central Javanese monuments (pl. 8), and

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(54) Acharya, op. cit. p. 63.
(55) Op. cit. p. 36.

(56) The word "durdhura" does not occur in the dictionaries: the text is probably mutilated here.
(57) The designations which Ram Raz, on pl. VI, of his work (where a column of Conjeeveram is reproduced) gives to the various parts, deserve no confidence. Thus he names "kumbha" an ornament which has not the faintest resemblance to a real "kumbha:" "nagabandha" is, according to him, a panel with a leaf design, whereas one is led to except a "naga" etc., etc. It is unknown what Herika, Asya and Tatika profiles are. Perhaps they may be identified with the ornaments placed between the Kumbha and Kalasa.
(58) "The 'architect' of the West is quite unknown in truly Hindu work. There is no theorist who sits in an office and prepares plans and calculates stresses, but the head workman directs his co-workers as the work proceeds, working with them on the spot." Hadaway, Ost-Asiat. Ztschr. III, p. 36.

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is generally (erroneously) designated as the "roof" of the temple.

Relative Measurements. Now that we have compared all the parts of temples described in the Mânasâra with the Central Javanese ones as regards their form, one point which has hitherto remained out of consideration must be dealt with in our investigation.

As has already been stated, the *Silpashastras* set down exactly the relative measurements of the parts of buildings, and of the subdivisions of the parts. Now, whenever it can be shown that in the Javanese monuments the proportions were not, as has been hitherto tacitly assumed, chosen "by the eye" but are regulated by a defined system, our hypothesis that canonical rules were known and used in Java, too, will be the more stable. When one is seeking traces of this system, and goes to make measurements with ruler and compasses on architectural drawings, one should duly take into account the fact that the Hindu-Javanese architects positively did not know such drawing, (59) and that in the execution of their plans they were without any graphic intermediary, and relied on the material itself, that is, the stone.

In what way did they manipulate that material? "For a Hindu edifice to be complete in accordance with the architect's plan"—we here quote Brandes (60)—"it must show itself in various stages. In the first instance, it is set up in the form which it is to have, rough, too large in outline, with the constructive ornamentation in coarse pieces. Then this ornamentation is worked off, without any attention as yet being paid to the further finer decoration of the building. The pilasters are worked off smoothly, the flat bands, on which a wreath of flowers, for example, may presently be chiselled, in the same way, the panels and the casements are planed, and the pieces, the palmettes can be treated in the same way. Only then when the building has been worked out completely with its constructive ornamentation, does one proceed with the further decoration of the building, by the chiselling-out of petals, the exact formation of the 'kala' heads and the makaras, the chiselling of the panels and the hanging ornamentation on pictures, etc., etc."

To the above paragraph, which describes excellently the technique followed by the Hindu-Javanese architects in its main issue, we may add some further remarks. As we see from the photograph of the tjandi of Ardjoeno on the Dieng, which is given here, the Hindu-Javanese temple was raised up out of stone-layers, the blocks of which are of such height that the horizontal joints (seams) which separate the layers, lie and run on in any prolongation. When putting on the ornamentation, in the way described by Brandes, the stone-masons evidently did not bother about the height of the layers of stone. The 'kala-head' above the niche, for instance, occupies three layers of stone, so that two joints run right across the ornamentation. This does not seem other than natural. One should observe, however, that in the parts of the temple which form the profile (the reglets, spheres, planes, etc.) there is really a certain relationship between the parts and the stone-layers. The plinth below the lowest plane of the foot of the Ardjoeno tjandi is just the height of one stone-layer, and the plane itself is of equal height. Thereon rests a pile of straight reglets, which again occupies one stone-layer; the kantha which rests on it is two stone-layers in height, the joint of which divides the perpendicular exactly in half, etc., etc. One thus sees that the projecting reglets and bands, which form such sharply defined horizontal lines in the old-Javanese architecture, are not interrupted by any disturbing joints, and do not sacrifice any of their rigid soundness.

The above remarks may easily lead one to form the conclusion that, in the making of the profile of the temple, the stone-masons took as their standard the height of the stone-layer; in other words, that they made the heights of the parts of the profile equal to those of the stone-layers, However, it is exactly the opposite which appears to be the case. Even without any architectural drawing, but just judging from the photograph, one sees that the stone-layers of the Ardjoeno tjandi are not equal in height. The

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(59) Not. Bat. Gen. 1902 Supplem. XV, p. CXLVIII.

(60) Quite independently of this investigation, Mr. P. J. Perquin had already previously come to the same conclusion.

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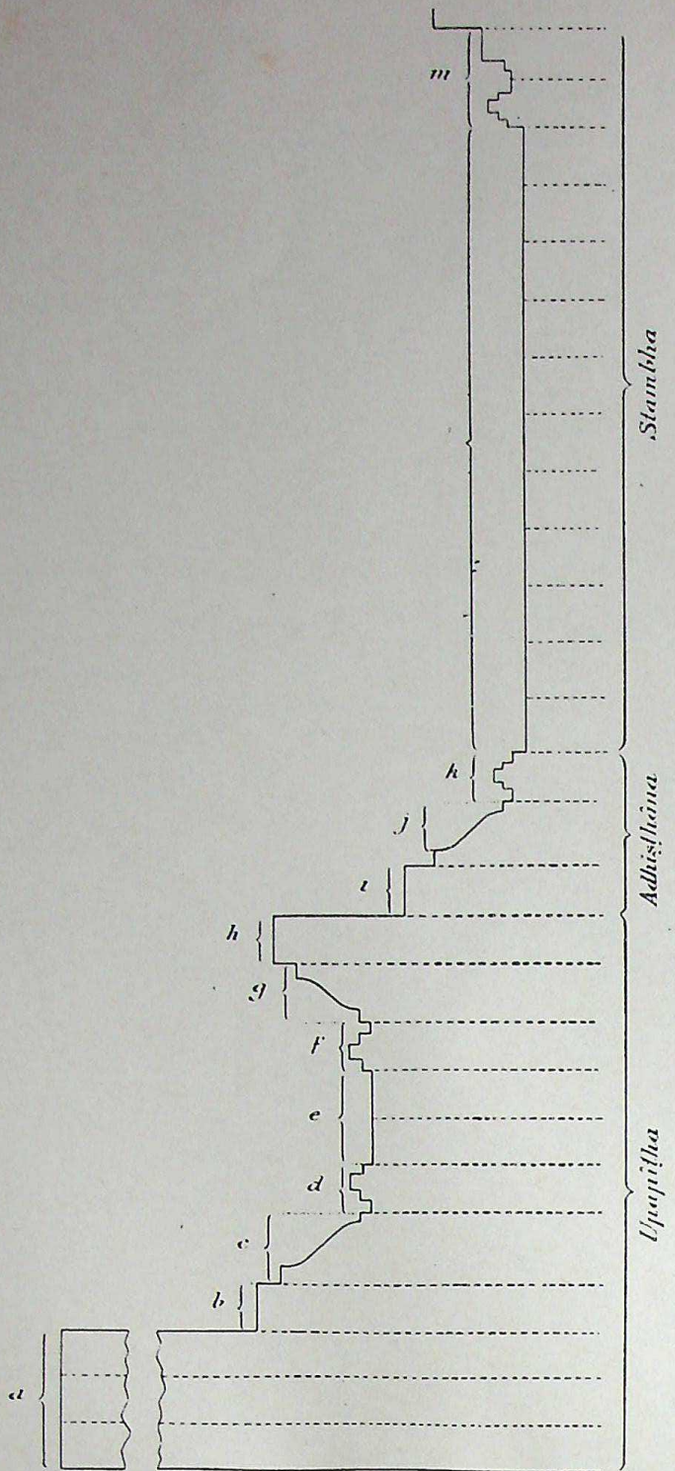
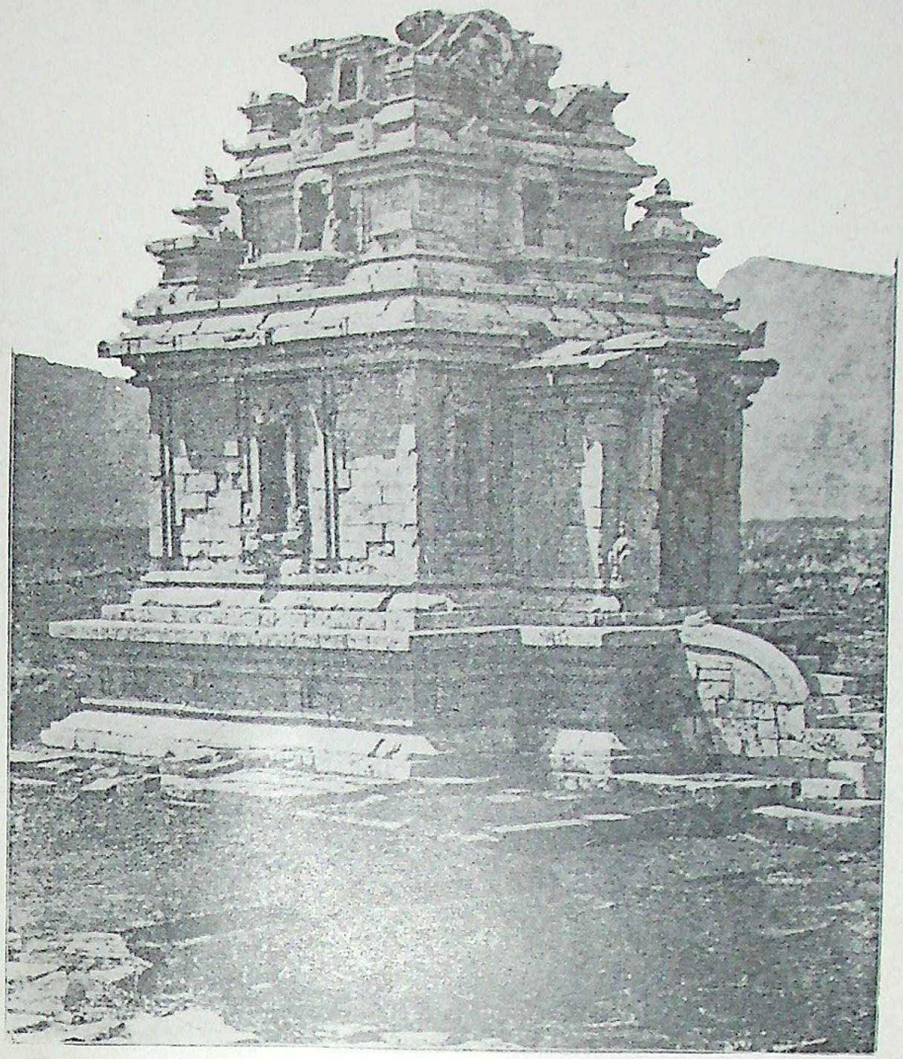


Profile elevation of Tjandi Arjuna.



Tjandi Arjuna (Dieng plateau.)

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stone-layer of the lowest plane from the foot is considerably higher than those below and above it: on measurement it appears furthermore that the correspondingly high layers of the body of the temple differ in measurement from the layer forming the projecting upper edge of the foot, and that the latter again differs from the layers of the porch. From this it is seen most clearly that the suggested hypothesis, that the stone-masons made the heights of the parts of the profile agree with the heights of the stone-layers, is not tenable, but that, on the contrary, the heights of the stone-layers are indicated by the parts of the profile, which heights must therefore have been determined before. (61)

This gives us an interesting glimpse of the method by which the Indo-Javanese architects worked. The phases described by Brandes, which the building of an edifice had to undergo, were preceded by yet one more: The stone-layers were ordered and hewn according to measurement, and piled up in proper order in accordance with an existing plan. From the temple thus put together with rough stone, the position of the various stone-layers was already determined: these were to be hewn into planes, those into hemispheres or straight reglets, yet others for kanthas, etc., etc. Not until then was the temple worked at further, or could the decorator proceed with the application of the ornamentation. In the ordering and the hewing of the stones according to measurement, it is conceivable that the architect may have determined arbitrarily, i.e., solely according to his own feeling for proportion, the height of each stone layer, i.e., of each part of the profile occupying such stone-layer.

But according to what has been revealed by the comparison between the Shâstras and the Javanese architecture, it is more probable that the architect obeyed technical instructions when fixing the heights. The investigation of the proportions of the heights of the stone-layers of the Ardjoeno tjandi gives complete certainty on this point. The parts of the profile of this edifice are in defined proportions to each other:

A. UPAPITHA.

a. Plinth (3 stone-layers of 5 units each)	15 units
b. Upana (1 stone-layer)	5 „
c. Padma (plant, 1 stone-layer)	8 „
d. Pratiwajina (pile of straight reglets, 1 stone-layer)	5 „
e. Kantha (stone-layer of 5 units each)	10 „
f. Alinga (pile of straight reglets, 1 stone-layer)	5 „
g. Padma (plane, 1 stone-layer)	6 „
h. Pattika (projecting reglet, 1 stone-layer)	5 „
	59 units.

B. ADHISTHANA.

i. Upana (lowest stone-layer)	5 units.
j. Padma (plane, 1 stone-layer)	7 „
k. Pratiwajina (pile of straight reglets, 1 stone-layer)	5 „
	17 units.

C. STAMBHA.

l. Pada (body of temple, 11 stone-layers of 6 units each)	66 units.
m. Bodhika (capital, 2 stone-layers of 5 units each)	10 „
	76 units.

It is clear that a definite system has been followed here. It cannot be mere accident that all the heights are multiples of the same modulus: nor that the Upapîtha and the Adhisthâna together are of the same height as the Stambha (76 units), the latter being in agreement with the instructions in the Shâstra, (61) measured from the highest point of the Adhisthâna down to the lower edge of the cornice (prastara). For the proportions of the breadths of the parts of the temple, it is prescribed (62) that the breadth of the edifice is to be measured between the corner pilasters and is to be divided into six parts. Two of the six are destined for the Mukhabhadra (middle niche) and two-sixth for each of the wall planes on the other sides.

This instruction has been followed, amongst others, in the construction of the Kalasan tjandi. From Yzerman's fine architectural drawing of the East. front, the breadth seems to be divided into six between

(61) Acharya, op. cit. p. 15.

(62) Ram Raz, op. cit. p. 51.

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the corner pilasters. Exactly two-sixth are occupied by the prominent portion in which the entrance is placed, and one-sixth for each of the in-turning side-pieces situated on the other sides.

The Wimana. The chapters of the Mânasâra dealing with the Column and its parts gives hints as to the Wimanas (edifices i general and temples in particular) which, as we have said before, are divided into classes in different ways. The first division is based upon the material requisite for the construction. A building is named Sudha (pure), when but one kind of material, for instance, baked stone or natural stone, is used. Thus in Java the temples on the Dieng, which are all made entirely of natural stone, belong to the "Suddha" type. Thus also the few baked stone tjandis of Central Java and the many of East Java. The second kind of temple is named Misra (mixed), those which are composed of two kinds of stone—baked stone and natural stone. In middle Java: the decayed temples in the Mendoet tjandi, which, as far as is known, has a natural-stone roof and a baked-stone lower structure; (63) in East Java: the tjandis of Kali Tjilik, Bangkal and many others. The third kind is called Samkirna ("amalgamated"), which consist of three or more materials, e.g., baked stone, natural stone and wood. Many Bali meroes with walls of baked stone, ornaments of natural stone and a roof of wood and (idjoek =?) belong to this category.

These directions are of importance, because it appears from them that the *Silpashas* knew baked stones as well as natural stones. If the directions were obeyed in Java too, then the architects or builders were free to choose the material, and it is not necessarily true, as is asserted, that natural stone building is more ancient than baked stone building, or the reverse. (64)

Another classification of the Wimânas is made according to the shape of the top. Buildings with a square top are called Nâgara: those with an octangular, Dravida,—and those with a round top—Wesara (65). The Nâgara type is most frequently met with in Central Java (among others the temples on the Dieng and the Oengaran, the Pawon tjandi, etc.): but the Dravida type is also represented by the Kalasan tjandi with its octangular upper structure, and the minor temples of the Sewoe tjandi, etc., whilst one may perhaps recognise the Wesara type in the structure of Moeara Takoes in Sumatra (66). We shall leave out of account other classifications of the temples—namely, according to their size, according to the proportion of their heights, breadths and lengths, because those available do not admit of any comparison with the Indo-Javanese architecture.

It is worthy of mention that the same chapter contains a description of the Stupikila, the highest pinnacle of the shrine, which must be rectangular at the base, octangular in the middle, and round at the top, while the top runs evenly from below upwards. It is very curious that the crowning piece, which is so frequent in Java, is unknown, as far as our knowledge goes, in the architecture of South India.

The Doors. In the same chapter we still find a prescription of the following content. The doors of Wimânas must consist of two panels, and revolve round a perpendicular cylinder, the one end of which rests in the foundation (ground). The outer sides of the panels are decorated by festoon work, etc., and above the door and on the other sides there glitter representations of gods and

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(63) Brandes, Not. Bat. Gen. 1902 Supplem XV.

(64) Meanwhile, the merit acquired by the foundation of shrines of various material was not equal. In the Mahânirwâna-tantra it is said (Avalon, op. cit. p. 298), that the founder of a temple covered with rushes or straw shall sojourn in the heaven of the gods for the period of a thousand times ten million (koti) years. The founder of a baked stone temple enjoys the divine bliss for one hundred times as long as this period, and he who causes a natural stone temple to be built enjoys that bliss for ten thousand times as long as the last named period. Thus, on account of the requisite material alone, was the foundation of an edifice like Borboedoer of greater merit than that of a baked stone temple.

(65) Probably these are geographical names, and can be compared with those of the Graeco-Roman styles of architecture. Acharya, op. cit. Hypothesis V and p. 19.

(66) Oudhk. Versl. 1912, p. 38, and the literature mentioned there.

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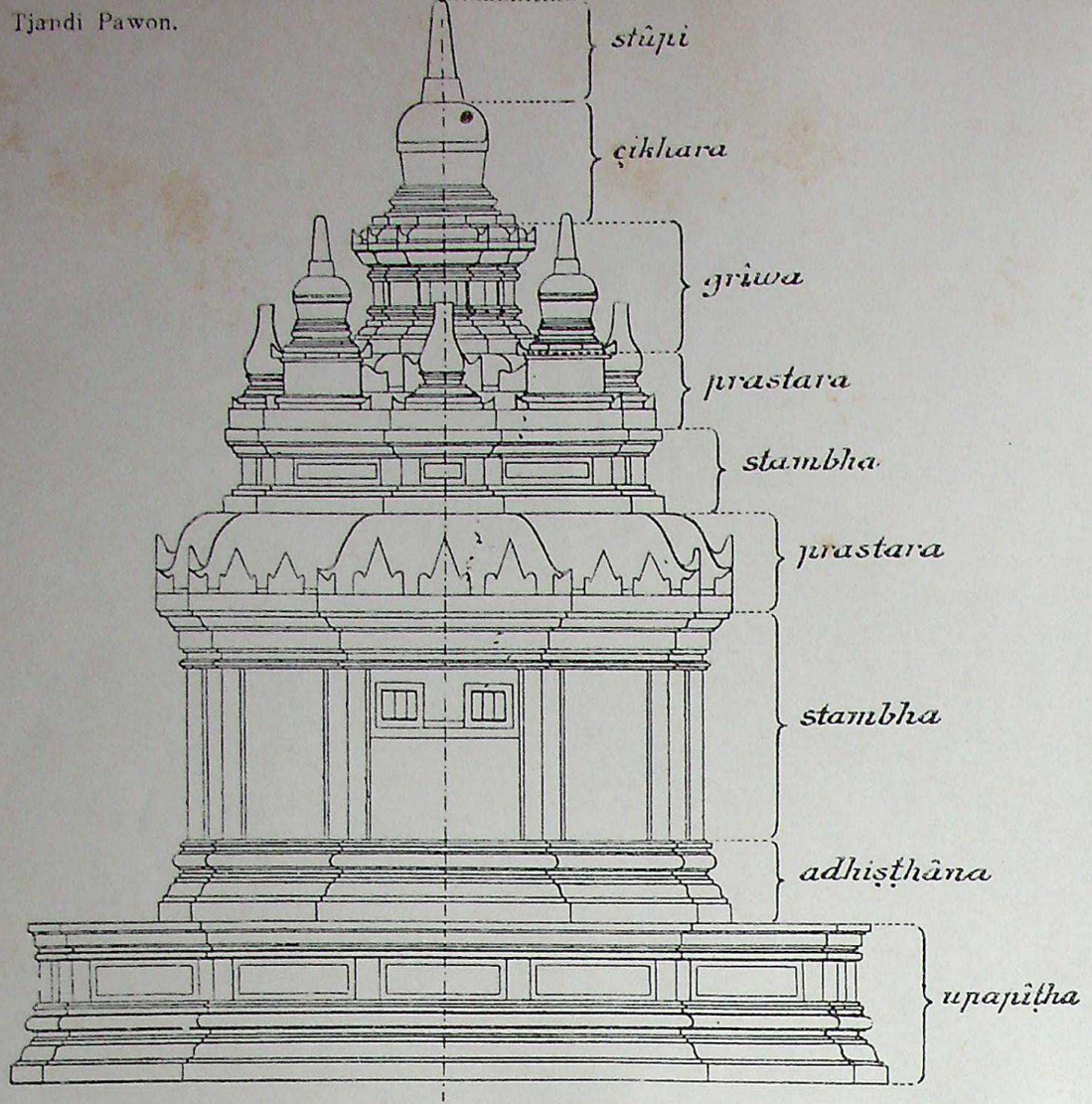
Tjandi Pawon.



Plan of Tjandi Sewoe :

a. antaramandala. b. antanihāra.
c. Madhyamahâra. d. Prākāra.
e. Mahamaryādā. f. Winiyoga mandapa.

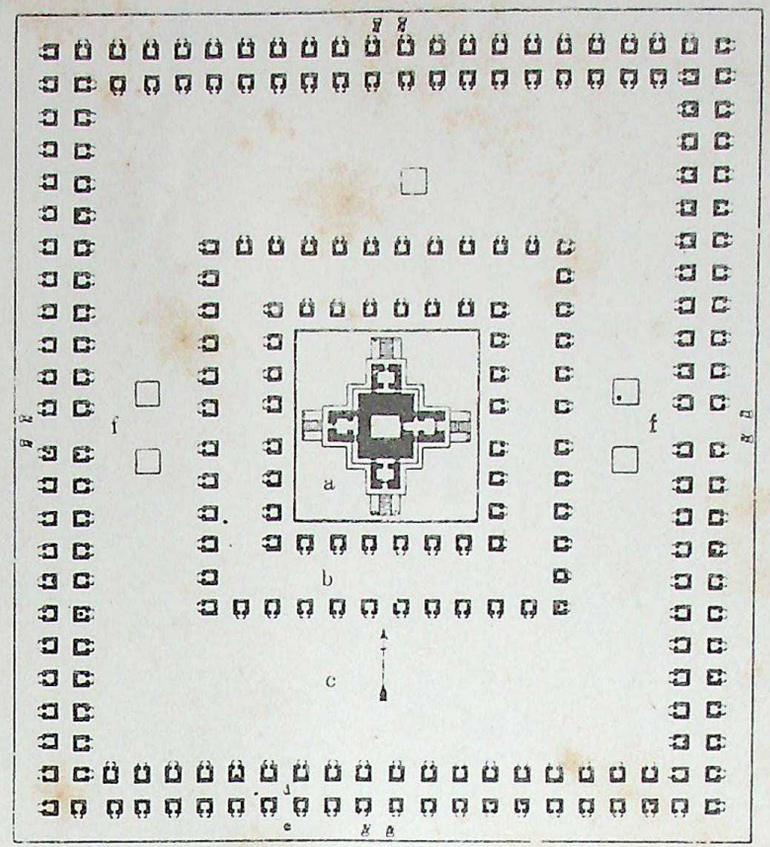


Plate 7. Panel of Gaja-Lakshmi, Tjandi Nagasari, Mataram.

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goddesses who guard the entrances. Amongst the female divinities who are mentioned as having been a guardian above the entrance is Lakshmi, holding a red lotus in each hand, seated between two elephants. (67) The wooden doors of the old Javanese shrines, which, just as the Shâstra prescribes, revolved round a pin in the ground, show the (speun) holes, which no tjandi-passage lacks: and naturally they are not spread in Java. However, in conservative Bali, these old-fashioned temple-doors are still in use, and are decorated "by fine festoon-work, etc.," in accordance with the prescription. The intention of the Mânasâra as to the figure of the god above the door is made clear from the Kalasan tjandi, where above the upper threshold of the entrance the image of a goddess is indeed chiselled in high relief. The representation of Lakshmi between the elephants was known in Java too, and was specially used for the upper threshold (*see* plate 7). (68) The door-keepers which the Mânasâra places at the reverse sides of the entrance are well-known figures both in Central Java, where they are called Mahâkâla and Nandiswara, and in East Java and Bali, where they generally have the appearance of Râksasas.

Following upon the instructions which apply to the Wimâna in general, there are twelve chapters, which deal respectively with buildings of from one to twelve storeys (ekabhumi, dwitala, tritala.....dwâdasatala), which are in their turn again divided into classes, thus buildings of one storey into 8 classes, those of six storeys into 13 classes, etc. Each chapter contains, beside this classification, the description of the various characteristic portions of the monuments, especially of the images of gods with which the walls are decorated, and, needless to say, the statement of the proportions of the parts to each other. As not a single top of a Central Javanese edifice has remained extant, we cannot examine whether the measurements of the top, in the same fashion as with the lower structure, coincide with the instructions. We can, however, confirm, that all the parts mentioned in the Mânasâra do also occur in the Javanese buildings. A two-storey building, according to the work mentioned (69), consists of the following parts: the Upapîtha, the Adhisthâna (foot), the Pada (pilaster with capital), the Prastara (cornice), the Pada (the pilaster of the floor), the Prastara (the cornice of the floor), the Grivâ (the "neck" of the Dagoba), which in its turn is sub-divided into the Vedhikâ (the foot), the Grivâ (the actual "neck") and the Uttira (cornice): the Sikhara (top-piece, dagoba) and the Stupi (pinnacle). Precisely these parts, no more and no less, are shown by a Central Javanese building of two storeys, whereof the Pawon tjandi is reproduced here as a specimen.

The next chapter of the Mânasâra deals with the temple compound, more especially with the open squares which divide the sets of buildings (prâkâra). A description of five prâkâras is given. The inmost space is called Antarmandala, the second Antanihâra, the third Madhyamahâra, the fourth Prâkâra and the fifth, the space surrounding the complex, Mahâmaryâdâ. These squares, except the outermost one, are closed in by the temples which are placed in squares, i.e., rectangles, and are dedicated to secondary gods. In the first square there are temples built towards the 8 points of the compass; the second square contains 16 buildings, and the third 32. (70).

Little information is to be had from this description which is not explained by the Central Javanese temple compounds. In the Sewoe tjandi, for instance, the division into five Prâkâras, formed by the secondary temples placed in rectangles, is clearly seen. The number of secondary temples does not tally with the instructions, but this is, however, the case with the Loemboeng tjandi, where 16 secondary temples are placed at the points of the compass and at the in-between points. It is curious that, in the Mânasâra, there is mention of so-called Winiyoga-mandapas

(67) Ach. op. cit. p. 55.
(68) Rapp. Oudhk. Comm. 1902, p. 158.

(69) Ram Raz, op. cit. p. 52, etc.
(70) The word "prâkâra" occurs, amongst other places, in the 10th strophe of the dedicat'on inscription on the Amoghapasa-image of Padang Tjandi (Kern, Verspr. Geschr. VII, p. 165, etc.): "bajraprâkâramaddhyastha pratimâyam Jinâlayah."

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(cut-off, isolated Pendopos), which are built in between the regularly formed Prâkâras. We have every reason to identify the buildings on the third temple space of the Sewoe tjandi, which stand outside the temple rectangles, with these Winiyoga-mandapas. Furthermore, it is worthy of especial attention that in India itself, the complexes (compounds) are on the whole formed much more irregularly than in Java, (71) and that evidently in this respect the Javanese architects were more orthodox in their teaching than the Hindus themselves.

In Indian architecture, after the Wimâna, the Gopura (gateway, giving access to a prâkâra) is the most important structure. In Central Java not a single one of these monuments has remained. The fact that they were not unknown is proved by the bas-reliefs of Boroboedoer, on which there are several representations of gateways (72). In the later East Javanese architecture the gopuras are the indispensable gateways of a temple complex or Kraton—one should think of buildings like the tjandis of Wringin Lawang, Badjang Ratoe, Djedoeng—in fact even in Bali, where the wimânas themselves are mostly made of wood, the gateway works are the only stone constructions of importance. The description of the Mânasâra really only differentiates the Gopura from the Wimâna inasmuch as the latter has a closed-in inside space and the former presents a wide passage: moreover, both kinds of buildings are formed in accordance with the same model. In East Java, too, as far as one knows, the tjandi form is the basis of the form of the gateway-structure.

After the description of the various sorts of gopuras which are, like the Wimânas, classified as to the number of their storeys—the Mânasâra gives information about the Mandapa, by which term we understand Pavilion pendopo, bower, booth, hall, in general, any structure in a compound, which is not a principal building. As the mandapas were for the most part composed of perishable material, one cannot expect to find any significant remains in Central Java. However, that which has been lost here is largely compensated by the innumerable reliefs of Boroboedoer, on which mandapas are depicted (73). When the descriptions of the diverse types of mandapas are accessible on the appearance of the complete edition of the Mânasâra, one should be able to undertake with advantageous results the study of these reliefs in connection with the Shâstra instructions. We must here pass over in silence the other topics discussed in the *Silpashastra*. Some of these topics of architecture have been dealt with too confusedly or too incompletely by Ram Raz and Acharya: others admit of no discussion, because there is an absence of material for comparison with the Javanese architecture.

Javanese Sculpture. We now turn to sculpture, in order to see whether, in this branch, too, there is any trace of the influence of the canons in Java.

A first point of investigation is furnished by the question whether the images of the gods are formed according to the anatomical rules laid down in the Shâstras, a question which is not easy to answer. For the fashioning of the images of deities of normal figure, the nawa-tâla system is assigned, but at the same time other Shâtras permit the asta and dasa-tâla system. Which system was used in Java, can naturally not be found out before. A second possibility lies in the accurate measuring of the images themselves. The height of the face (tâla), the unit of measurement, as far as one knows, is an extendible size, as one cannot generally say with certainty where the hair begins and where the rounding of the chin ceases. A difference, however slight, when multiplied by nine—the number of times which the height of the face must be put into the total height—gives us a not inconsiderable total. If the measurement does not come out correctly, should the fault be imputed to the unit which has been taken wrongly, or to the maker of the image, or does it speak against the supposed use of the rules in question? Taking into account

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(71) *See* the Plates in Ram Raz, and the flat ground (?) in Fergusson's "History" and elsewhere. plans

(72) *See* amongst others, Parmentier, "L'architecture interpretee dans les bas-reliefs de Java," B.E.F.E.O. VII (1907), Plate II, Fig. 27.

(73) Parmentier, loc. cit. p. 36 etc.

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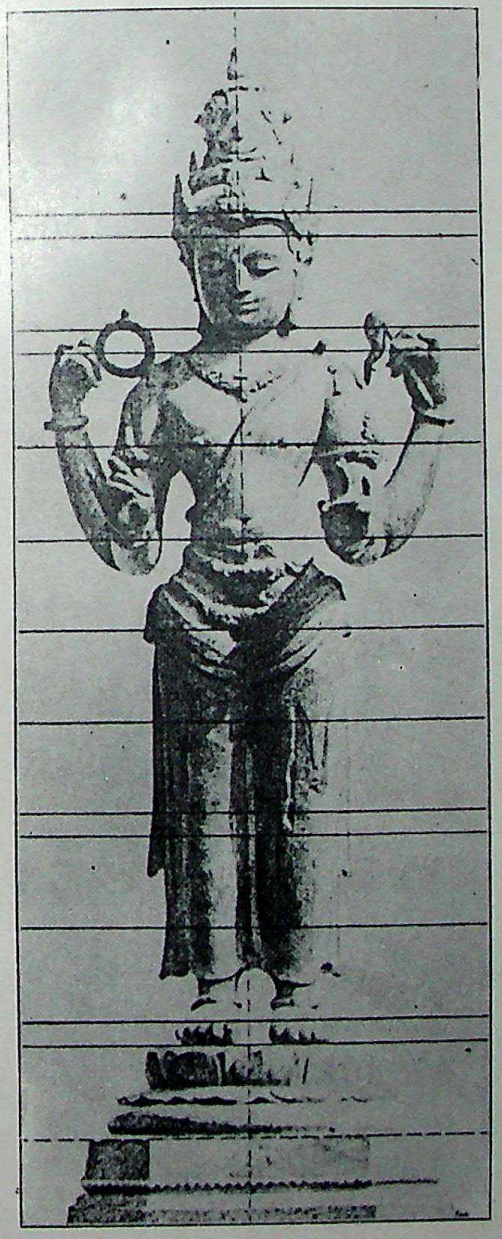

3	Angula.	
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108	= 9 tâla.	

A middle Javanese Bronze Image in the nava tâla measure.

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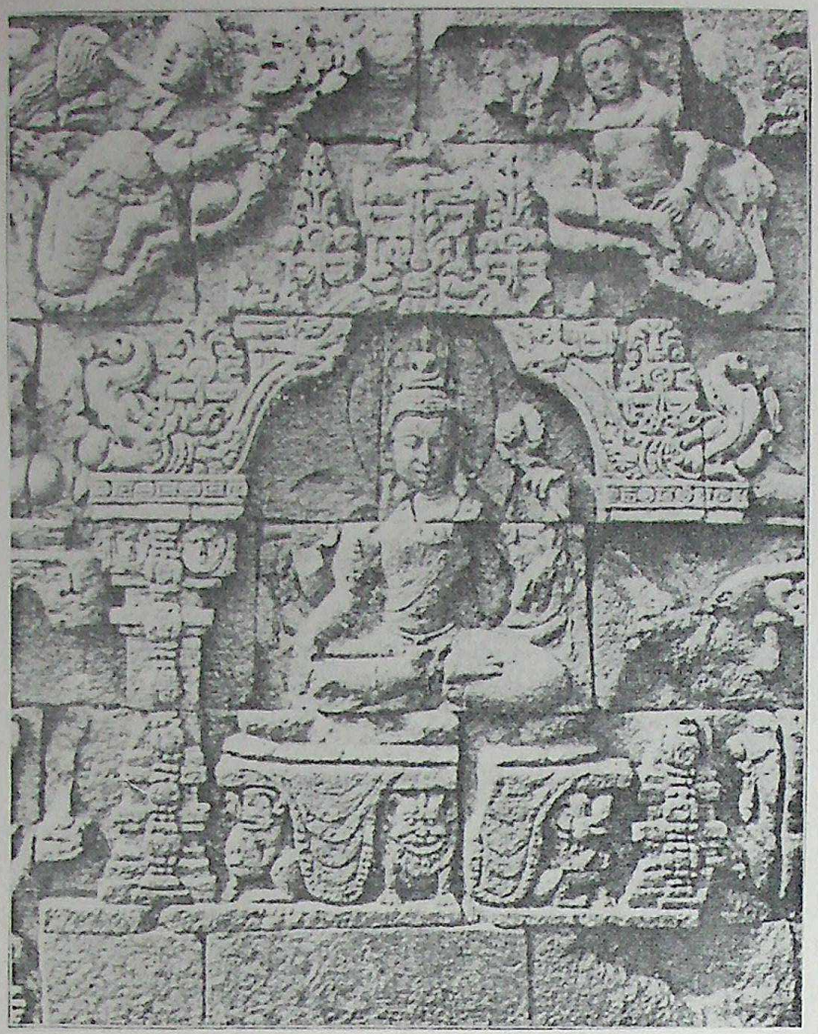
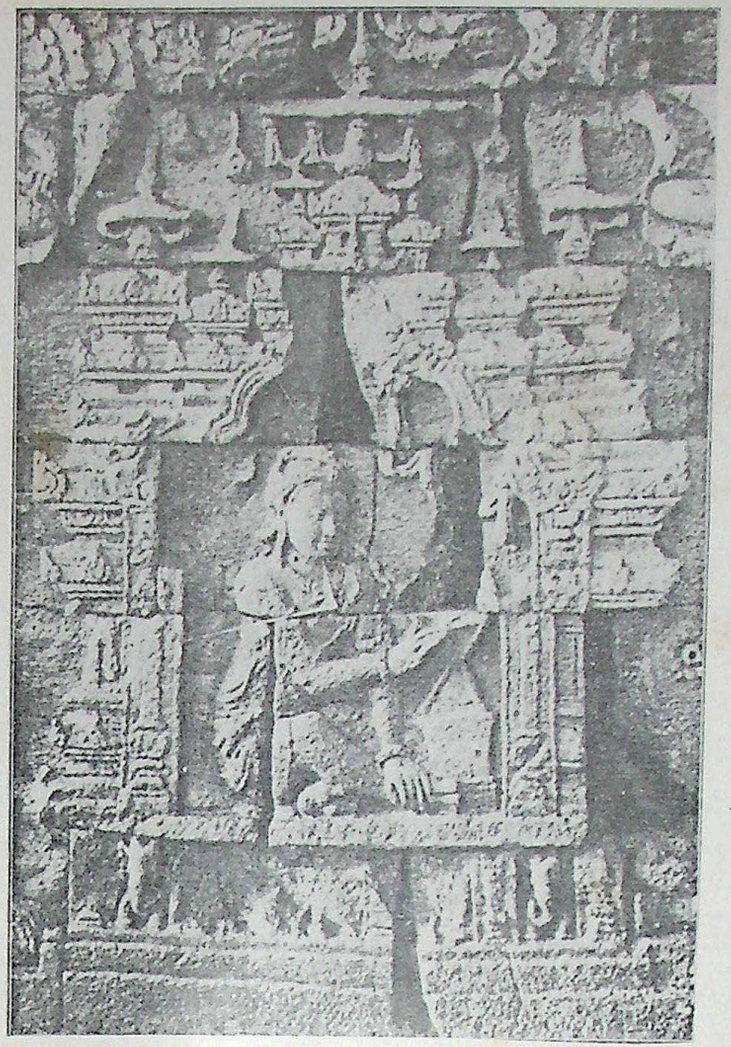


a. "Lion-threne" in makara-torana.



b. Torana, with pilastars on elephants.

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these uncertainties, we are still of opinion that we may assume that the sculptors and bronze founders in Java worked in accordance with canons. The height of the face can be determined exactly from the bronze image reproduced here, which was obviously executed with great care. Three angulas give, in accordance with the Shâstra's directions, the height of the neck: one tâla (span) below it reaches exactly down to the point of the chest; further, counting the prescribed number of tâlas and angulas, one finds that the total height of the image is exactly nine tâlas (74). It is worthy of attention, too, that one Shâstra contains an instruction that the limbs of the human figure should be smooth and tapering, just like "the trunk of an elephant" or "the stem of a palm tree," (75) an instruction which one cannot find illustrated more clearly than in the figures on the Boroboedoer reliefs.

It would lead us too far, to touch upon all the prescriptions in the *Silpashastras*, which relate to sculpture and the Javanese works of sculpture: however, even a comparison of the various models of crowns, head-gear and hair ornamentation, which the Shâstras know with the types occurring in Java, requires a separate study of its own. Other points of investigation are furnished by the personal adornments, types of the symbols of dignity, chariots, coaches, couches, throne-seats, baldaquins and mounts (steeds) of gods and princes, the lingas and yonis and the representations of saints, devotees, yaksas, vidyadharas, kinnaras and other mythical beings. Of the overwhelmingly rich material contained in the Mânasâra and other treatises on these subjects only a small portion is at one's disposal, but that little is sufficient to confirm one's conviction, that in these respects also, the Indo-Javanese sculptors were obedient followers of the canons.

A few things may still be mentioned here, less with the intention of increasing the number of the already enumerated points of agreement between the written laws and the Javanese art-expressions, than to emphasize what a vast, fertile soil there still is here, waiting to be investigated. One of the indispensable signs of dignity of gods and princes is the throne-seats (âsana). (76) The Mânasâra first of all divides the royal throne-seats into four classes, destined for four rites of consecration, and the gods' throne-seats also into four classes, for use in the daily recurring ceremonies, ordinary festivities, especial rites and great festivals. Finally the throne-seats are also divided into three, differing as to form and ornament, for the highest gods, (Siva and Vishnu) and the nine kinds of princes. Of those throne-seats of which, besides the uninstructive designations, something is known, let us mention the Simhâsana, the "lion-throne," which is borne by six or four (77) lion-shaped feet, and is depicted in Java, amongst others, on the relief pictures of Boroboedoer. Then the Padmâsana (lotus-throne), the most frequent seat; the Bhadrâsana (one foot with niches on the side-pieces); the Padabandha (probably one foot with pilasters at the corners), etc. Needless to say, the Central Javanese buildings, including Boroboedoer—which edifice presents as it were a pattern-card of throne-seats on its reliefs—furnish an inexhaustible material for comparison with the types of âsanas given in the Shâstra.

For the enhancement of the splendour of the divine or princely dignity, the throne-seat is set up in the torana, (78) which is,

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(74) It is noteworthy that the height of the lotus cushion is exactly one tâla.

(75) Hadaway, Ostasiat. Zietschr. III, p. 48.

(76) Acharya, op. cit. p. 38. G. Rao, op. cit. I, I p. 17 etc.

(77) The Mânasâra only names the Simhâsana with six feet. (Ach. op. cit. p. 39): G. Rao (op. cit. I.I. p. 21). On the other hand: "The simhâsana is a four legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions."

(78) The original meaning of the word "torana" is "bow-shaped gateway" (Uhlenbeck, Etymol. Diction. of the ancient Indian language, 1899): Gr. tursis, Lat. turris are nearly related: Netherl. toren (from "torn" from "turn") High Germ. Turm, Engl. tower, are derived from the Latin word (Franck, Etymol. Diction. s. toren). In Indian Buddhist architecture, the torana is well known as the door leading to the stupa shrine (Acharya, op. cit. p. 39, note 2). In the Mânasâra the instructions regarding the Torana seem to refer only to decorative niches for the seats of gods or princes: in Java, however, they are applicable as much to the buildings which were originally indicated by the word "torana," namely the gateways, e.g., those

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according to the Mânasâra, a structure consisting of columns or pilasters (anghri), upon which rests a "sky:" it may be round, triangular, accolade (embracing), half-moon shaped, or of other shapes, and is provided with makaras on the reverse sides. As decoration of the top-piece there figure presentations of the divine Seers Tumburu and Narada or pictures of other semi-divine beings, such as yakas, vidyâdharas, kinnaras, etc. The toranas occur in Java in various forms. First of all as niches on the outer and inner walls of shrines. The niche on the East front of the Kalasan tjandi, which we reproduce here, contains the pîtha, whereon the image of the god,—now vanished,—was set up: on the reverse sides of it, hewn out in bas-relief in the wall, there rise the anghris (pilasters), which support the "sky:" in this case, the latter is a pure circle, but elsewhere it shows the most phantastically curved lines. The makaras spoken of in the Shâstra are not lacking on the reverse sides of the bow; neither does the top-piece lack the figures of demigods in the form of flower-strewing denizens of heaven, which must resign their place elsewhere to gandharvas, rishis, heavenly musicians, etc. Another application which the torana found in Java is the independent niche, of which amongst others Boroboedoer can show an innumerable quantity of specimens. The character of these niches corresponds to that of the niche of Kalasan with this difference, that the image of the latter, which is executed in bas-relief, is projected into the space, in the case of Boroboedoer. (Plate XIII, fig. a.) Both tornas show as their basic form the makara (arch) bow, supported by anghris, whilst the crowning-piece is formed like the roof of a tjandi, with storeys, corner turrets and top-pieces. A last application of the torana, to which we wish to call attention here, occurs frequently on the reliefs of Boroboedoer. One sees there gods or distinguished personages, seated on more or less richly decorated seats, placed in edifices which show the most divergent forms and ornaments. In some places such an edifice has the appearance of a niche which embraces the image closely, elsewhere it resembles a tjandi, and is provided with storeys with corner turrets and top-pieces: then again a crowning piece of this kind is dispensed with, and one sees a broad inner space, where next to the throne-seat there is room for kneeling followers or worshippers. Almost always, the arch which is vaulted over the image, is of phantastic formation.

Parmentier (79) saw in all these constructions, shrines and palaces in section. According to him, the sculptors had no solution of the problem how to fashion the figures which are to be found in the interior of a temple or of a dwelling house, and they solved the problem by fashioning the figures as though they could be seen through the opening of the door. Then, to prevent their looking ridiculously small as compared with their surroundings, the sculptors enlarged them extravagantly by means of the framing door structure. Parmentier himself has pointed out a very weak point in this explanation: The bow (arch) of the edifices in question shows a far greater number of varieties than occur in the Javanese door-structure. He explains it by the hypothesis that the sculptors, who always sought to vary the execution of the parts of buildings, here too gave free rein to their fancy. However, assuming that this explanation is correct, there are still some serious objections to his opinion. Not only the type of the door-work is said to have been formed by the sculptors, but in many cases the whole character of the temple is supposed to have been modified by them. In most of the edifices which Parmentier takes for shrines or palaces, the foot, a most essential part of the wimâna, is lacking. In those places where the basements do occur, their profile-work and ornamentation show

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above the staircases of Boroboedoer, out of which the torana instruction of the Shâstra (the kala-makara design, mythic figures such as kinnaras, rishis, nearest to the bow, the top-piece consisting of corner turrets, pinnacles, etc.), is clearly visible.

Attention is here further called to the mention of a vidyâdhara-torana in the much discussed Tamil source of Kg. Rajendracola of 1030 (Coedès, B.E.F.E.O. 1918, p. 5): this undoubtedly refers to a door of access to a kraton or town, whereon figures of vidyâdharas were fashioned on the reverse sides of the passage.

(79) L'Architecture interpretée, etc., l. c., p. 5, etc.

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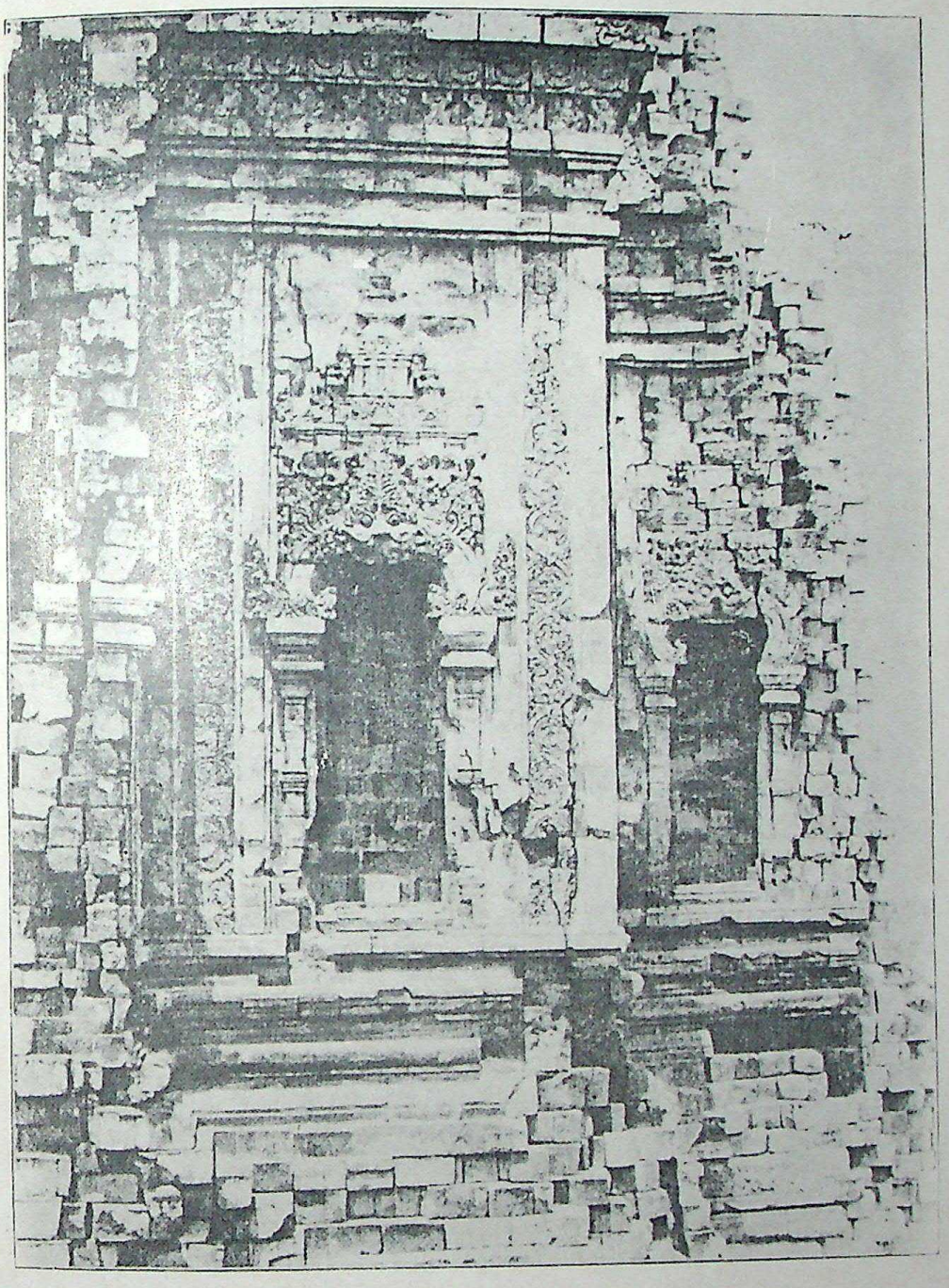

Niche, East front, Tjandi Kalasan.

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a. Torana with niche (Borobœdœr.)

b. Shrine in bas-relief (Borobœdœr.)

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worlds of difference from that which we see elsewhere in the Central Javanese architecture. Lastly: the columns on which the arch rests, and forming the door-opening, (according to Parmentier), in most of the presentations, at the same time act as external walls of the "shrines." The door would thus not only have been enlarged extravagantly, but would have swallowed up the whole edifice in its entire breadth. But enough of this. Nobody who sees with an open mind an edifice such as is reproduced on Plate 14, fig. a, could recognise either a palace or a shrine in it. We therefore think that the opinion of the French archæologist is not tenable, (80) and that it is quite a different sort of edifice which is illustrated on the reliefs of Boroboedoer, namely the toranas of the *Silpashastra*. As a proof we reproduce here next to one another a detached niche of Boroboedoer and a specimen of the relief construction in question. (Pl. 13). Except for a few insignificant details the two structures are completely identical. With just as little justification as one can name the first one a shrine or a palace, can one do so with the second one.

(80) Strangely enough, Parmentier names the same edifices, which he at first takes for palaces or temples (p. 5), further on in the same article (p. 25): "edifices which were intended as niches or dais for Buddhas or saints."

Foucher made the same mistake as Parmentier, by regarding the toranas depicted in the Nepalese Miniature MSS. as temples:—"Unfortunately they (the edifices in question) never appear except when serving as frames for statues. The result is that they are represented in a very conventional manner, and, so to speak, vertically: it is as if the section were passing behind the façade, allowing us to look directly at the interior sanctuary. Generally the statue stands beneath a tri-lobed arch, which reminds us forcibly of the temples of Kashmir. This arch is surmounted sometimes by a Sikhara, a sort of turret or high cupola in the style of Northern India..... and sometimes by terraces in tiers like a pyramid, in the style of the temples of the Deccan. In other cases the roof is simply rounded and supported by columns which form a verandah all the way round." Study on Buddhist Iconog. I (1900) p. 45. It is quite clear what has led both Parmentier and Foucher on a false track: the roof of the torana, which with its storeys, corner turrets and top-pieces, has a striking resemblance to that of the wimâna. *See* the reproduction of the Kalasan tj. and the detached niche of Boroboedoer.

In comparing the buildings on the reliefs with the description of the torana in the Mânasâra, we bring to light all kinds of further curious points of agreement. We have seen that the Mânasâra admits an unlimited number of forms for the arch. The sculptors of Boroboedoer knew how to make good use of the freedom allowed to them. One finds there toranas scolloped five-fold towards the inside, folded like a monocle, bent in an accolade shape, and pointed in a heart-shape—in short—in all imaginable varieties. A remarkable point of agreement with the Shâstra instruction, a point which we miss in the niches of Kalasan, strikes us in Boroboedoer. According to the Mânasâra the columns, on which the actual torana rests, are supported by vyâlas. Now, vyâlas in the shape of elephants as well as of beasts of prey, occur in Boroboedoer as supports of the anghris. (*See* Plate 11). As decoration of the toranas, the Mânasâra mentions representations of the heavenly Seers Tumburu and Narada and of demi-gods and mythical animal figures. The passage in question leaves one in the dark as to which places representations of this kind are to occupy. Evidently the artists of Boroboedoer hesitated, as did their colleagues of Kalasan, to interrupt the crowning-pieces of the toranas with representations of this kind. They found a more artistic solution in flanking the torana tops with pairs of ghandharvas, kinnaras, yaksas, etc., at every turn. Often does one see on both sides figures, which by their long beards and plaited hair, may be recognised as rishis. It is not impossible that this pair may be meant to indicate Tumburu and Narada as named in the Mânasâra.

After the description of the torana, in the Mânasâra, there are instructions for the making of the madhyaranga (also called muktaprapanga). Acharya was not able to make out what edifice is meant by this. From one verse in the chapter in question, one can only glean that there was a close connection between the Simhâsana, the makaratorana and the kalpavriksa on the one hand, and the madhyaranga on the other. It is remarkable that a kraton-piece of Solo can give some elucidation here. On the occasion of the circumcision of Soenan Pakoe Boewono X, the throne-seat was placed in an edifice called

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maderenggo (81) which word is derived regularly from the Sanskrit madhyaranga (82) which can still be seen in the kraton of Solo. The style of this modern maderenggo has naturally greatly degenerated under European and other influences.

Thus, I am informed, the top-piece consists of four dragons, which bear a crown and sceptre, copied from the top-piece of the golden carriage which was at the time made for Pakoe Boewono VII in Europe. But, in spite of all modern modifications and alterations, one may see from a comparison of the Javanese throne-pavilion with a similar edifice of a Boroboedoer relief, (83) that not only the name, but also the fundamental form of the Indo-Javanese madhyaranga still continues to live on, in the Solonese maderenggo. The fundamental form (in which there is no trace of the true Javanese pendopo-style) consists, in both edifices, of one central niche supported by anghris and flanked by two small and inferior (lower), but otherwise entirely similarly formed side-niches. The close connection between the makaratorana and the madhyaranga, spoken of by the Mânasâra, thus lies in their use: both serve as ornaments of the throne-seat. The difference between them is that the torana had only one niche, but the madhyaranga had three (or a greater number).

Finally, something must be said as regards the kalpavriksa (wish-tree) which overshadows the throne of princes or gods, and is also seen growing out over the torana and the mandapa. The number and the dimensions of the branches are in proportion to the higher or lower proportions of the prince's seat. The tree is decorated with climbing plants, many-coloured flowers, jewels and garlands of pearls, while the foliage is peopled by demi-gods, siddhas, vidyâdharas, apes or other animals. (84) Kalpavriksas completely in accordance with the directions of the Shâstra as regards their use, whether as decorations of âsanas or of mandapas and toranas, and embellished precisely in accordance with the instructions, may be admired in abundance on the reliefs of the Central Javanese shrines. Fine representations of it are furnished by the picture of Boroboedoer, the reliefs of the temples of Prambanan, the side-walls of the tjandis of Mendoet, Pawon and others.

Differences between the Manasara and the Javanese Art. At the conclusion of the comparison between the contents of the Mânasâra and the productions of the Indo-Javanese art, in which hitherto attention has almost exclusively been paid to the points of agreement, we may now also make mention of the points of difference. We shall speak of a few of the most characteristic of the latter. In the chapter on gopuras it is said that the buildings rise in front and give access to the five prâkâras (open squares) of the temple compound. A combination of gopuras, like this, is unknown in Central Java. Only in the external circular walls of the shrine were there gateway structures, as we know from Prambanam, Sewoe and the reliefs of Boroboedoer. Around the trunk of the kalpavriksa there is curled,

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(81) On the information of R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka. There is a miniature of this maderenggo in the Srivedari Museum at Solo.

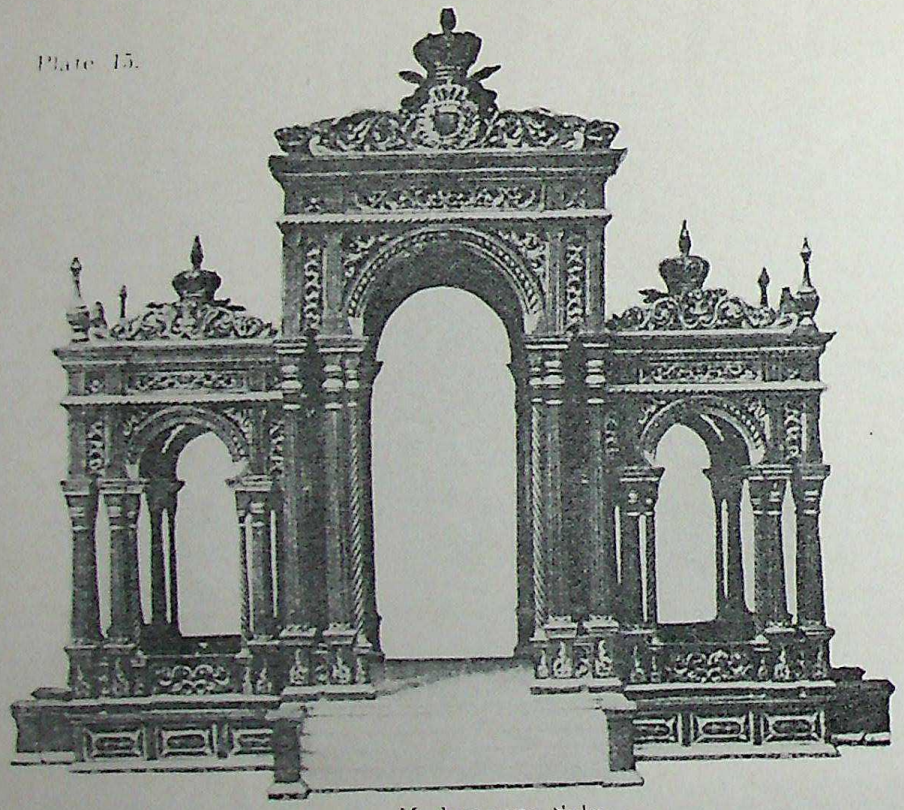
(82) The words madhyaranga and muktaprapanga only occur in the *Silpashastras* and not in the dictionaries.

(83) One should bear in mind in this comparison that on the reliefs of Boroboedoer all the buildings depicted are transformed in connection with the elongated form of the pictures: their lower structure is made smaller in proportion, but their upper structure is pressed down. "All the upper elements seem to go one inside the other, like the tubes of a spy-glass. The widths remain the same, the heights diminish according as the element is raised higher." Parmentier, loc. cit. p. 9. The madhyaranga was thus in reality much taller than the Boroboedoer relief shows. Other representations of madhyarangas are to be found, amongst others, on the 2nd gallery, principal wall, tabl. nos. 59, 63, 69 and 120.

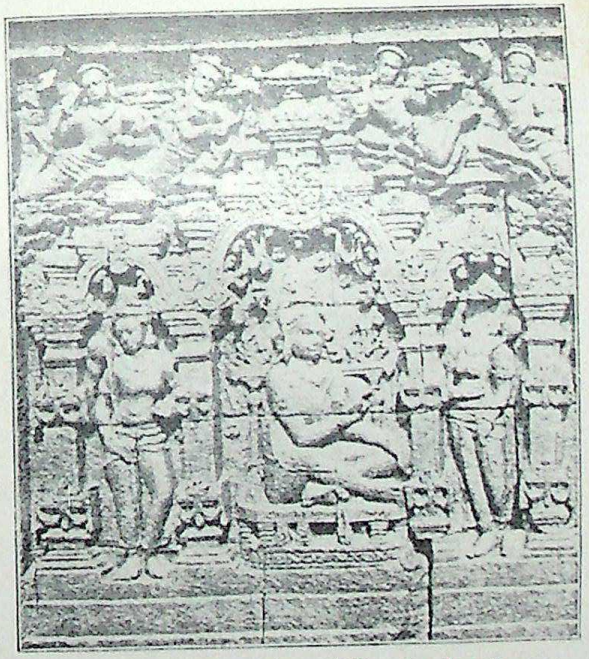
(84) The kalpavriksa, well-known from mythology, fulfils all desires of its possessor. The K. existed, not only in the realm of fable, but in reality also, namely as a tree which, in the fashion of our Christmas tree, was hung with all kinds of presents, and was decorated. Gifts of tree of this nature are mentioned on inscriptions. *See* J. Vogel, The yupa-inscriptions of King Mulavarman, B.K.I. 74, p. 215 note: C. O. Blagden, Kalpavriksa, Journ. Asiatique XI series, vol. XIII, p. 342.

Where the Boroboedoer reliefs give us the reality in the depicting of royal insignia, such as âsana, torana, etc., there is no reason to doubt that the K. did exist in Java as a symbol of dignity.

Plate 15.



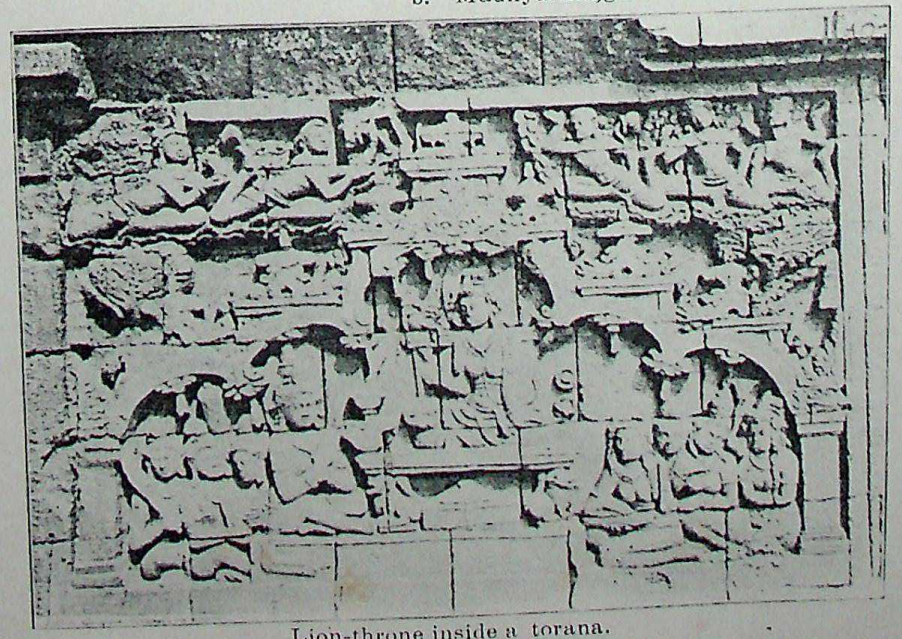
a. Maderenggo, Solo



b. Madhyarangga (Borobœdœr.)

Plate 14

Torana under Kalpawriksa



Lion-throne inside a torana.

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according to the Mânasâra, a nâga with a tuft spreading out in five branches. As far as we remember the nâga does not appear on any Central Javanese picture. The kinnara (a mythical being, the upper part of whose body is that of a man, the lower part being that of a bird) has, according to the same treatise, the head of a Garuda. In Java, on the contrary, the kinnara is always depicted with a human countenance.

The most important differences are to be enumerated among the iconographic instructions. According to the Mânasâra, Siva bears the antelope and the drum on the back of his hands, while the front part of the hands show the wara and abhaya-mudrâ. This representation of the highest god, which is the most frequent in India itself, is not met with in Java, at least very seldom. (85) Amongst the attributes of Brahmâ there is mention of the sacrificial spoon, which is not known in the case of the Javanese Brahma. Vishnu's breast shows the Srivatsa sign, which does not appear in the Javanese Vishnu figures. Amongst the female deities, in the Shâstra, the so-called Saptamâtri (the seven mothers) step into the foreground, and these are missing from the Javanese iconography.

The Mânasâra was not used by the Hindu-Javans in the form in which it has been handed down to us. From these differences, which might be increased by a not inconsiderable number of others, one sees most clearly that the Mânasâra could not possibly have been the guide-book of the Indo-Javanese artists, in the form in which it has been handed down to us. In any case, one would not expect this to have been otherwise. As has been observed previously, the writings which we know as the *Silpashastras*, are compilations of comparatively late date, composed from heterogenous works, full of corruptions, interpolations and contradictions, which, in the course of the ages, have blossomed forth here, and have been looped off and maimed there, and which, in short, are as different as the poles from the centuries' older works on which they are based. Moreover, we know that the various Hindu sects had their own Shâstras, which, though agreeing with one another in essentials, have quite significant differences as regards details. Therefore, it would really be nothing but pure coincidence if the only *Silpashastra* which we know, namely the Mânasâra which has fallen into our hands, proved to be *the* standard text of the Indo-Javanese artists.

Conclusion. Let us now place over against the differences between the Mânasâra and the Javanese art—differences which, it seems to us, are to be explained for the most part from sectarian and other influences—the points of agreement which have been noticed. *The latter are so numerous and so convincing that we do not hesitate to answer the question which was asked earlier—whether in Java, too, written instructions for art were known and applied in the affirmative without reserve*

With this conclusion the problem as to the origin of the Indo-Javanese art undoubtedly appears under a quite different aspect. We need no longer stare ourselves blind over the Indian art expressions, which are so remote from the Javanese ones. Our starting-point is formed henceforth by the canonical rules, and the problem with which we are concerned, may be stated in the questions: What influence have the canons exercised over the origin and the development of Indo-Javanese art? and by whom were they used in practice ?

In order to answer the first question it is necessary to determine in greater detail the relationship between the Indian law and the Javanese practice. Therefore let us begin by pointing out a curious phenomenon which appears in the plastic arts. One would expect to find Buddhist iconography represented most richly and in greatest variety in the land of the origin of Buddhism: India. This expectation is fulfilled when one looks at the oldest Buddhist sculpture. Gandhara supplies all that is desired. But for the study of the pantheon, as it developed in later centuries under the influence of Sivaism, the material available in India is highly incomplete. Innumerable representations of divinities are missing from the collections of

(85) A bronze Siva in the Ethnogr. Mus. at Leyden (Juynboll, Catalog. 1909, p. 69) bears on the back of the hands the axe and the antelope. Its Javanese descent does not seem certain to me. *See* also Not. Bat. Gen. XXXI, p. CCI, No. 518a.

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Calcutta, Madras, Sarnath and elsewhere, whilst we find these same representations in countries outside India, namely in Tibet especially, but also in Nepal, Japan and in Java. The explanation of this, at first sight curious fact, is not far to seek. The texts which contain the iconographic instructions for the preparation of images and bronzes found their way out of India to the surrounding countries. The texts, which had first seen the light in monasteries—the focus points of Buddhism in its flourishing state—were of importance in India itself only as academic treatises. But the converts in other countries applied themselves to the execution of the instructions given in the Shâstras with the orthodoxy and zeal which is the characteristic of neophytes. A noteworthy example of the above is to be seen in Java in the well-known bronze relic of Ngandjoek. (86) In order to find analogies of the majority of the figures of gods belonging to it, one should seek counsel not of Indian, but of Tibetan, Nepalese and Japanese, sculpture. The texts containing the iconographic descriptions of the figures obviously remained a dead letter in the land of their origin, whilst in other lands they led to deeds.

In architecture we observe a similar phenomenon to that in sculpture. In the Sewoe, Prambanan tjandis and similar grand complexes, the counterpart of which one does not find in India itself, we see the execution of academic projects, conceived in Indian monasteries, for mighty defenders of the faith, who wished to acquire everlasting reward for themselves hereafter by pious foundations—projects, which in the Indian Buddhist community, had remained in the heads of monks or on paper. For the execution of these projects required more than a willing pencil and a patient palm-leaf. For this a prince was necessary, who, having inclination towards the Mahayana, would feel himself impelled to testify to his piety by erecting costly edifices: for this was necessary a well-filled treasury or else an absolute right of disposal over the active power of the subjects. If these factors did not work together, then the plans for expensive foundations were never executed.

(86) Krom, The bronze relic of Ngandjoek, Rapp. Oudhk. Dienst, 1912, p. 59, etc.

(87) If these plans gave rise to creations like the Sewoe and Prambanan tjandis in Java, then *conditions were obviously particularly favourable in this country for the erection of such edifices even more favourable than in India.*

The Javans more orthodox in the Shastra doctrine than the Hindus themselves. In this connection we may remember that, in the comparison between the contents of the Mânasâra, instances occurred proving that very important instructions had found no entrance into Indian practice, whereas the same instructions seem to have been followed in Java. These instances do not stand alone. One has a strong impression that, not only, as we have just observed, the Shâstras found a more fertile soil of development here in Java, than in India, but also that the Indo-Javanese artists were more orthodox in the doctrine and followed the laws more exactly than the Hindus themselves. Whether this impression is correct, will not be seen until the Mânasâra is published in its entirety, or, better still, when the *Silpashastra,* from which the Indo-Javanese artists drew their instructions, is found again. In any case a phenomenon of this nature would not be at variance with the facts which have hitherto been brought to light. In India, indeed, architectural practice had, in the course of the ages, emancipated itself from the theory. It had followed its own paths, which had strayed far from the original starting-point. It would be feasible that, in the countries outside India, the theory had made itself felt in all its strength, and that, at least originally it had completely coincided with practice.

However much the Indo-Javanese artists may have been bound to the law, it is certain that the Shâstras granted them a great measure of liberty in many respects, in the

(87) With these academic projects we may compare the instructions given in the Sutras for Vedic sacrifices lasting for years, and consuming treasures, e.g., the purusamedha (human sacrifice), whereby princes could acquire merit. We may take it as certain that such sacrifices never took place, but are to be regarded as purely products of the imagination of "learned" Brahmin priests. Oldenberg, The Religion of the Veda (1894), p. 363, etc.

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creation of works of art. From the quotations which have been given from the Mânasâra, one has already seen that the author paid attention to "giving and taking." One should observe another instruction of this tendency: "The height of the capital must be equal to the width of the shaft of the column, or must be one-half or one-third of it, accordingly as it may seem desirable having regard to the measurement of the column." Another instruction reads as follows: "The breadth of the garbhargrha (body of temple) is to be divided into 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 or 15 parts: of these 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8 are taken for the inner room, and the remainder for the thickness of the walls." In such instructions, which form the warp and woof of the technical treatises, the architect has a wide scope, and it is left to chance whether he and a colleague will select the same proportions between the parts of the building. Often the Shâstra gives still greater liberty to the artist, in particular in regard to all which serve to ornament and beautify the buildings. Thus, for instance, at the end of the chapter on the construction of the wimâna, we read of a storey: "The ornament must be applied in such a way that the building looks fine from the outside." From this very vague formula, one cannot deduce that the builder was free to decorate the rough stone temple with designs of his own invention. We know that hard and fast decorative designs existed, that their execution was bound by definite rules, and that their place on the edifice was fixed. However, we do glean from the above quotation that the sculptor enjoyed a certain degree of liberty in the application of the ornament, and was able to allow his own artistic feeling some voice.

Let us mention a further important factor which induce the Indo-Javanese artists to choose their own paths. All writers, who have looked into the *silpashastras*, complain of the corruption, obscurity and confusion of the texts. It was impossible to Ram Raz and to others to comprehend the meaning of many passages of the Mânasâra partly owing to the sorry plight of the manuscripts consulted by them, and partly because the significance of all kinds of technical terms could not be traced. Now it is true that we know nothing with certainty about the knowledge of Sanskrit of those people who used the *silpashastras* in Java, and just as little about the conditions of the texts which they consulted. But if it is true that the writers of the oldest treatises were silpins, who stood on a somewhat strained footing with the Sanskrit language, then we may assume that the old builders had the same difficulties to contend with as Ram Raz and others, and that they often, in cases of necessity, perverted obscure passages and interpreted them at random. Thus, by reason of various circumstances, the Indo-Javanese silpin was not bound hand and foot to the Shâstras. He willingly subjected himself to the tradition which was sacred in his eyes, but he retained liberty of conception and execution within limits which we can not exactly determine. Thus his relationship towards the law was, as a matter of fact, not different from that of any other category of Indian artists. Indeed, for instance, the poet was also kept to strict rules, not only in the structure of his verses, but also in the choice and treatment of his subject-matter and the use of figurative language and poetical phrases and figures of speech. In spite of these, to Western ideas, intolerable limitations of freedom, he could follow his artistic vocation whenever, with complete mastery over the technique, he gave new forms in his own manner to the ancient beauty and wisdom.

After the above explanations, it is clear that the comparison of the Javanese with other arts related thereto, must henceforth be carried on according to a method other than that hitherto adhered to. In the first instance one must always determine whether a direct influence of the one over the other can be observed. Even if this is not the case, a relationship may nevertheless be possible, if it can be indicated that the same or related Shâstras were in use in the countries in question. Generally one cannot observe more than vague points of agreement. Indeed the Shâstras were so constructed that they could stow arts in the most divergent directions. Even when the same Shâstras are followed in different countries, the factors which we have already mentioned and which we add here, (namely 1, the circumstances which do or do not further the foundation of grand

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edifices; 2, whether or not theory and practice coincide with each other; 3, the freedom granted to the silpins by the Shâstras in the choice of various instructions and in the execution of various parts, more especially the ornament; 4, the obscurity of the texts followed; 5, the artistic talent and natural disposition of the silpins themselves; 6, the requisite material), may vary the results to such an extent that, judging superficially, one is inclined to deny any relationship between the expressions of art under comparison.

When tracing the relationship, it is important, with the help of the Shâstras, to distinguish between the essential and the secondary elements. *Everything about which the Shastras give imperative instructions is essential, and the rest is secondary.* How necessary this distinction is will be demonstrated by a single instance. In his standard work on the Cam architecture (88) (which may be judged on the same principles as the Javanese), Parmentier draws a parallel between the Cam and the Indian monuments, and he states that in the latter a top as high as a steeple generally crowns the actual body of the temple, whereby the essential part of the edifice is removed much further towards the top than in the Cam temples: further, that before the Indian shrines a hall is usually built, which can assume enormous proportions, in the South. Amongst other things, on the basis of these differences, Parmentier is not inclined to assume any connection, or at all events only a very remote connection, between the Indian and the Cam architecture. We do not at all doubt the correctness of this conclusion, but we do doubt the validity of the criterion which has been applied here. Indeed, in the Shâstras the number of storeys to be built on a shrine, thus the height of the top, is made dependent on the will of the architect, also the construction of a mandapa or even a series of mandapas before the main entrance. Architectures which vary in these details may be connected, if not directly, then at least indirectly, through the link of the Shâstra-tradition. Equally incorrect does it seem to us when Parmentier, after having stated various points of agreement between the Cam and the Javanese art, observes (89): "However a radical difference separates the two architectures: the most characteristic element in Java, the admirable doorway, does not exist in the Cam art. Its curious design is certainly found in the ornamentation, especially in the first period in niche-decoration, but always enclosed within its fronton (pediment), and not framing the whole height of the bay. And the absence of this especial disposition shows also that there is no (affiliation) between the Javanese and the Cam art, because it would be impossible for this strange motif, even though deformed, not to have passed from one art to the other." A "filiation" proceeding from the direct influence of the one art over the other seems out of the question, to us also. However, a more distant relationship need not be excluded on the grounds of the difference shown by Parmentier. A person who knows the Shâstras, should not lightly differentiate or combine two arts on the basis of the application or non-application of an ornament in which point the artists always enjoyed great freedom. *It is what has been executed in the architectures of various peoples, and not how it has been carried out, which here and elsewhere, must be the basis of distinction.*

Comparison between a specimen of Javanese Architecture and an Indian Shrine. We shall terminate this survey by placing side by side the designs of a Central Javanese shrine and of a South Indian one. In order not to divert attention to differences which do not affect the character of the temples, we have chosen designs of temples with an equal number of storeys, and all the ornamentation is omitted from them. In the skeletons which thus remain, one should compare the principal and secondary points which the sâstras regulate, also the distribution of the height over the base, body of temple, cornice and storeys, the filling-out of the front pieces with doorway and niches, the treatment of the storeys with their corner turrets, and the like. Nobody can then deny that underlying both monuments there is the same conception, the conception which, if our hypothesis are correct, was set forth in related South Indian *Silpashastras*.

(88) Descriptive inventory of the Cam monuments of Annam, Vol. II (1918), p. 485, etc.

(89) Op. cit. 484.

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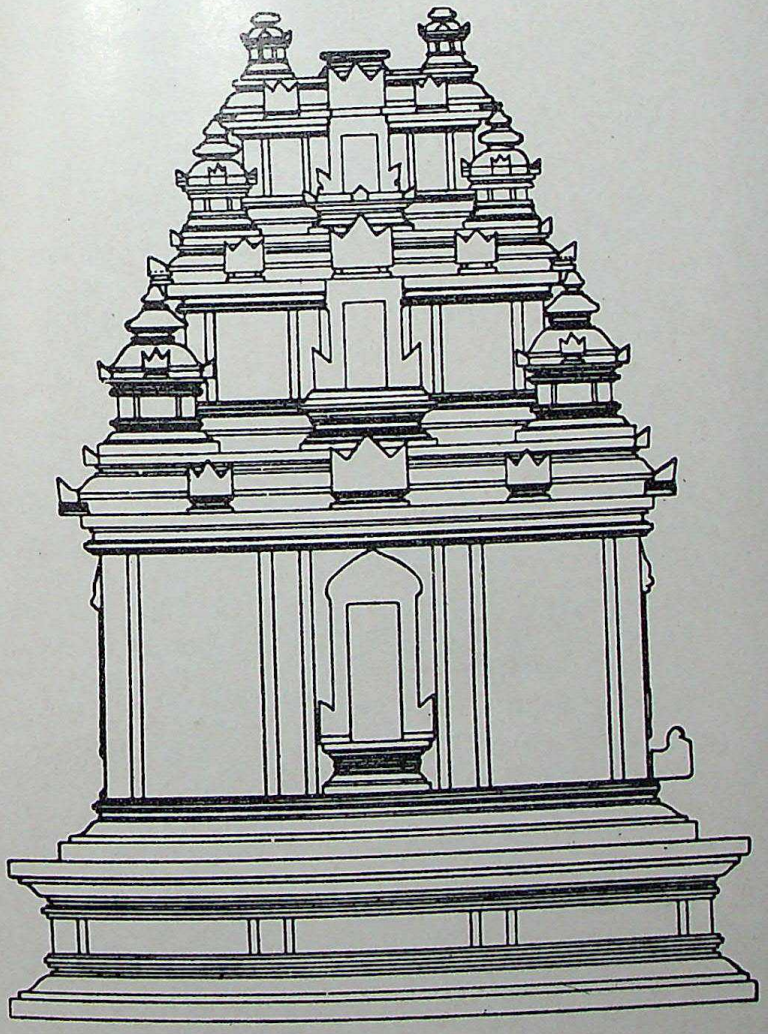
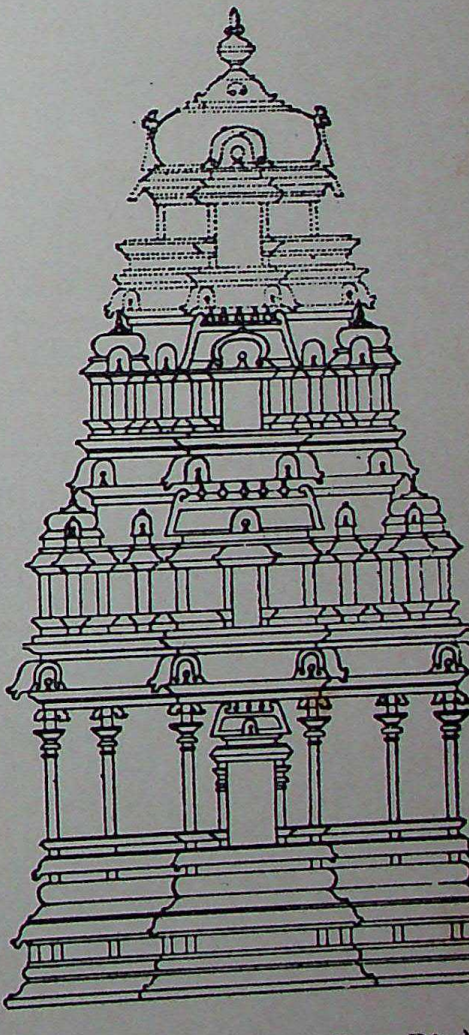


Design of Tjandi Arjuna.



South Indian Wimâna (Râm Râz.)

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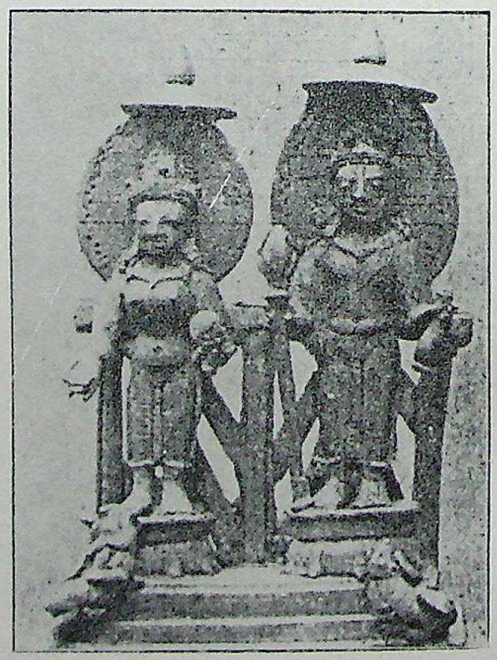
a.

b.

c.



d.

a, b, Images from Dieng.
c. Images from Gedong Sanga.
d. Bronze from Dieng

[See p. 37.

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IV.—WHO ARE THE MAKERS OF THE INDO-JAVANESE MONUMENTS?

In the foregoing sections we have attempted to establish the relationship of the Indo-Javanese art to the canon on the one hand, and to the sister-art in South India on the other. We must now reply to the second question which we asked ourselves above. Who were the people who made use of the technical instructions for the construction of the Central Javanese monuments? It is clear that what has been said about the *silpashastras* does not effect our earlier conclusion, that no important rôle can possibly be assigned to immigrated Hindu artisans. Indeed, if they had been the builders of the Javanese temples, they would, *whether they utilised the architectural instructions or not*, have continued in Java the traditions of their mother-land, and have given life to an art having far greater similarity with South-Indian art than it actually does have. If, then, we reject the notion of any direct participation of Hindu silpins in Central Javanese architecture, we do not for that reason exclude all *indirect* Hindu influence.

The participation of the Hindus. The spiritual teachers (âchâryas), who carried the Hindu religion to the countires North and East and South-East of India, also played an important part, as one assumes on good grounds, in the introduction and promotion of the two systems of religion which found adherents in this archipelago—Buddhism and Hinduism. Just as they introduced the canonical texts into Tibet and China, which there confirmed the new faith (in translations),—in the same way the pious pilgrims certainly did not come to Java with empty hands, but would have brought similar texts with them. Amongst these texts there were tantras, and perhaps *silpashastras* too. The âchâryas were monks, who excelled in all scholastic sciences which were cultivated in the monasteries, but they stood outside the exclusive professional caste of the silpins. One may imagine that, in their instruction in the sacred texts, they kept to the letter of the law, and being themselves inexperienced in the profession, they gave an explanation of the technical architectural descriptions which was theoretically correct, but was miles distant from the practice which had developed far from the monasteries, in South India. We shall therefore readily recognise the Hindus as the bringers, propagators and interpreters of the technical texts. But with this, we may assume, their activity in the realm of art in Java came to an end. It was left to others to hear their precepts, and to proceed to creations and to deeds. Who were these people? It seems to us that there remains but one possibility: The Javans themselves were the makers of the Central Javanese shrines and sculptures. There are serious considerations which can be made against this hypothesis.

If the Javans were the makers of the buildings could the forefathers of the modern Javans, who are satisfied with the meanest of dwellings, or, when they construct larger buildings, always relapse into the imitation of old models and give no evidence of any trace of geniality or even of the least striving after originality—could the forefathers of these people have created Boroboedoer, Mendoet, Prambanam and Sewoe? We believe that this objection appears more serious than it is in reality. There are so many instances in world-history of nations which, during a certain period of their life, excel in one direction or another, and then, as if too much of their energy had been spent, relapse into total insignificance—one has only to think of the present-day Greeks in comparison with their forefathers—that it is not so very surprising that the Javans fell to an equally low level. Truly, the ancient wood may have become withered in Java, but in Bali a shoot of the same stem took root and bloomed anew. Bali has remained the land of architecture and sculpture. If the modern society of the island were suddenly to be planted back to mediæval conditions, if a king were to arise vested with absolute power, able to dispose at will over the forces and service of his subjects, and anxious to acquire merit by founding religious buildings, if all circumstances were favourable, then one may be certain that the creations of the Bali wong-Majapahit would yet be in a condition, at the beauty and the grandeur of which the so-called civilised world would stand amazed.

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Thus the present-day insignificance of Javanese architecture is no argument to declare the Javans of the past as incapable of the building of the finest shrines.

The development of Indo-Javanese art. The question is merely whether the course of development of the art from its first beginning down to its finest blossoming, should be explained by the assumption that the Javans, supporting themselves on their own natural disposition and capacities, and following the canonical instructions, developed an art of their own on their own soil. In this connection it is not superfluous to remind ourselves once again of the fact, to which Brandes called attention already thirty years ago, (90) that Java, before it underwent the Hindu influence, was not in a barbarous state, but could glory in a culture of its own. It is not necessary to enumerate here the grounds on which he based his ingenious demonstration. The sole fact, that the Hindu influence could find entrance in Java, is already sufficiently convincing. Indeed, if the seed which has been scattered is to shoot forth, it must find the soil prepared. Thus in the social aspect, Java possessed the skill to receive and to assimilate the exotic monuments and institutions.

What was the predisposition of the Javans in the direction of art? Nothing is known of the existence of Javanese art before Hindu influence came to these lands. But the disposition of the Javans can nevertheless be measured and defined to some extent, according to that shown by other peoples of the same stock, which did not come under the Hindu influence. Stone construction is not indigenous to Java. As a matter of fact the native knows but two enemies in Nature, and those are the sun and the rain, which both fall in a perpendicular direction. As a protection against these, light structures of perishable material such as wood, fibre and the like, are sufficient. (91)

The inhabitant of the tropics will not of himself have the idea of making stone buildings, the usefulness of which he does not himself perceive. If he goes over to stone-construction, under external influence, he will nevertheless in his inmost heart always remain convinced of the superfluity of the heavy costly material, and should the influence cease to exercise its control, then he will gladly return to his beloved wood-architecture. One should not cherish the illusion that before they came into contact with the Hindu culture, the Javans had already been builders at heart and were only waiting for an occasion to demonstrate their dormant skill. One may rather believe that they assumed an indifferent, not to say hostile, attitude towards stone-construction. Though there may be no reason to attribute to the Javans any pronounced natural disposition for stone-architecture, they would not have been Indonesians had they not possessed great natural ability for decorative art. Again, direct proofs of their skill in this province are not available. But when one observes the admirable decorative work done by other islanders, one may surely assume that the Javans, too, knew how to adorn a plane or an object with tasteful ornamentation. Now, if the premise is correct, that the Javans before their coming into contact with the Hindus, whilst preserving a markedly indifferent attitude towards stone-architecture, did show a pronounced talent for decorative art, what results does one expect, if one assumes that not the Hindus, but the Javans, undertook the construction of the Central Javanese monuments?—an architecture, of which the constructional element is and remains the weak side, and in which the ornament has a luxuriant development. This is precisely what is found in Java. It was lucky for the Javan that the construction of the shrines in accordance with the instructions of the *Silpashastras* made the minimum demands on his architectural capacities. If we look once more at a temple on the Dieng inside and outside, then it seems to be built in the same manner as a child piles up its block. The walls go straight up to the top, and in one wall there is an opening with an out-building, which is the entrance. The construction of the vault (roof) caused little trouble. Each layer of stone was placed upon that underneath it projecting slightly inwards, so that finally the stones touched one another at the top.

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(90) A jayapattra or deed of a judicial sentence of Saka 489, T.B.G. XXXII (1889), p. 98, etc.

(91) Parmentier, "L'architecture interpretée," l.c. p. 47.

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Certainly, for the construction of a temple such as that reproduced on Pl. 3, no expert and experienced Hindu architect was necessary. We see therein the first, modest attempt of a Javanese architect, in which a project easy of execution has been executed on as small a scale as possible. And yet, however humble the beginning may be, we can already admire there the tasteful application of the ornament. We do not know what part of it the decorator took from the instructions and what part of it is his own invention. However that may have been, he did not yield, as did his Hindu brother-artist, to the temptation of excessive decoration. He felt the value of the simple motif in the plane, and when compared with the South-Indian, his work makes a favourable impression on us of purity and freshness. The two qualities, which characterise the oldest Indo-Javanese buildings: faultiness of structure and beauty of ornamentation, the qualities which we shall take as being typically Javanese, remain in the later architecture right down to the period of its most luxuriant blossoming.

The builders do not learn how to make constructions which increase the durability of their creations. Though the temples become higher in construction and the ground-plans more intricate, the same very primitive construction of foundations, walls, arches, vaults, etc., remains in vogue, and the same faults and defects are repeated again and again. Boroboedoer, the acme of Central Javanese art, is by no means a masterpiece as regards construction. After the Golden Age of Central Java, the art in East Java takes a downward turn. (92) Grandiose buildings are, it is true, still erected under the Kedir and Tumapel dynasties, but already at the time of Majapahit the stimulating influence of religion appears to be on the wane, and the monuments decrease both in number and in size. Scarcely was Hinduism displaced by Islam, when stone architecture almost ceased to exist. A feeble after-effect of the old Hindu influence can be traced in the kraton and mosque buildings, but wood-architecture won back its old charm for the Javans, and is henceforth to hold unmolested sway.

If, according to the opinion of experts, Indo-Javanese architecture never emerged from its primitive stage as regards technical construction, then, on the other hand, the ornament developed to such perfection as puts in the shade everything which India has to show. It would be superfluous to demonstrate any further this universally recognised truth. Let us then pointedly ask the question whether we, accepting the superiority of the Javanese ornamentation over the Indian, can still have any doubt that the decoration of the shrines must be attributed to Javanese artists.

How should the Hindus, having come to Java, have surpassed themselves in this field of art ?

We have strayed far from the oldest architecture, which found expression on the Dieng and the Oengaran. Before we take leave of it finally, let us remain for a moment by the oldest products of sculpture and bronze-founding art. As one is accustomed, when writing about antiquity, to select the finest specimens of art, to reproduce them, and to fasten one's views to them, whereby the public gets the often false impression that what has not been reproduced is at least just as fine as the rest, it will perhaps be useful to call attention to products of art which, as a matter of fact, scarcely deserve the name. The photographs reproduced here, of images and bronzes which originate on the Dieng or the Oengaran, will furnish the most powerful argument against the prevalent idea that ready (accomplished ?) Hindu artists were the makers of these images. The objects are of the same clumsy formation as those of Borneo, Sumatra and the Preanger, where Hindu influence was only slightly felt and the natives never reached beyond the first stage in the cultivation of plastic art. Just as little as the last-mentioned, did the Javans master the technique of this branch of art in their first attempts, and it was only after much cultivation and perseverance that they acquired the right of calling themselves artists.

Many well-made works prove that the Javans did have natural talent for sculpture. The very same inhabitants of the Dieng,

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(92) Barabudur—Monographie en de Inleding tot de Hindoe Javanese Kunnst 1920, I, Het IV, vgl. II, p. 289.

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whose first attempts failed so miserably, are the makers of images and bronzes in which there already appeared the best qualities of the art of a later period. If it is true, which we suggested as a hypothesis, that the Dieng and the Oengaran antiquities can be regarded as the first attempts of Javans to put the canonical instructions into practical execution, then the significance of the two territories from the archæological point of view becomes greater than ever before. For in that case it would mean that the Javans went through a school (course of training); that the art received its first development, and that the builders and sculptors prepared themselves for the grander task which was awaiting them in the plains of the Praga and the Saragedoeg.

It is universally known that there is a close relationship between the Sivaite art on the Dieng and the predominantly Buddhist buildings in Djokja and the Kedoe. The last-named, though grander in design, more intricate in ground-plan and more luxurious in decoration, show the same characteristics of construction and style as the monuments of the older period, and the sculptures and bronzes of the Golden Age of art are but perfected forms of the types which had already seen the light on the Dieng and Oengaran. The same artists, or those who had been trained at their school, must have built the simple tjandis of the Dieng and the surpassingly beautiful shrines in the Kedoe and Djokja. The makers of the best images of the Dieng, or their pupils, must have been the sculptors of Boroboedoer, Prambanam and Sewoe also.

Along what lines, and in what time the development of art took its course, cannot be traced, for want of chronological data. One may imagine that, in the course of the 7th Saka age, art may have descended from the high regions of the North to the low plain, and moving towards the South, ripening slowly and methodically, reached its full growth in 700 Saka in the foundation of the Kalasan tjandi by Prambanam, and thence took its lofty flight along Prambanam and Boroboedoer.

It is also possible, however, indeed more probable, that only an extremely short period of time elapsed between the end of the Dieng development-period and the flowering-time of art which begins with the erection of the Kalasan tjandi, or even that both these periods roughly coincided with one another. In that case one must take it that the art developed very rapidly from the Dieng to Kalasan. Now, there is nothing inexplicable or disquieting in the sudden, spontaneous blossoming-forth of an art. Let us suppose once more that Central Javanese art was an imported art, brought to Java and cultivated by foreigners. One would then expect a powerful beginning and a slow, steady languishing or degeneration: a line beginning high up and gradually descending. In Java, on the other hand, one sees art on the Dieng and the Oengaran begin modestly and with hesitation, thereupon flourish probably with great rapidity, then maintain itself on the same height for a certain period, and finally, when brought to the East, to shrink gradually and degenerate.

So many great arts have presented the last-mentioned course of development. It is as though there were, in society, a quantity of energy hoarded up, which, when the time is ripe, is suddenly released in full force by some—sometimes feeble—cause. In times when there is striving after creative production, society easily forms for itself the organs by means of which it can express itself. Artists arise in great numbers, and form a school: pupils surpass their masters, and in one man's life-time art has come into existence, and has ripened to its full growth. When one has seen sudden developments of art in Egypt, Greece, North France and in many other countries, we do not see why we should consider the same thing as unlikely in the case of Java. We point to one further quality of the Oriental, which may perhaps help in explaining the rapidity of development, as well as the uniform superiority of art in the later period. "What his eyes see, that do his hands fashion": this dictum is applicable to him.

If one observes Bali stone-cutters at their work when they are decorating a shrine with ornamentation, one can always notice that a few take the lead, and act as foremen (doing some work in advance as a model). The others work according to their model, and strive to follow it nicely in all its details. A

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casual observer could not distinguish their work from that of the masters. Now, if one can assume that some artists of high standing arose on the Dieng by dint of diligent practice, one may also be sure that they raised a large number of their pupils to an equal level. And if some, or the best, of their pupils took the lead in the sculpture-work at Boroboedoer and Prambanam, then their followers would certainly not have remained behindhand with their example. Thus, we imagine around a nucleus of men selected by their natural ability, there was formed within a short time a host of expert Javanese silpins, who were capable of creating the mightiest and most beautiful works of art.

Conclusions.—We do not at all flatter ourselves that, in the above sketch of the development of the oldest art, we have necessarily convinced you all that the hypothesis offered, namely that the Javans were the artists of Central Java, deserves preference above others. As tangible proofs are lacking, and in all probability always will be lacking, the problem is, after all, a question of feeling: "Of what does one think the Javans of the past were capable?" "Of unthinking imitation," say some. "Of independent creations," is the opinion of others. Who is to say the decisive word here?

In the meantime we do hope that we have convinced you that it is foolishness for people to repeat after one another that it was "the Hindus" who did everything in Java in the realm of art, and that the Javans were only used for coolie work. Let us be agreed that there is no ground for certainty here, and that—as the old Indian proverb says—it is only "by groping along the walls that one can find one's way out of a dark room." It is clear that, apart from the question of who the artists of Central Java were, and apart from the hesitating answer given to that question, we maintain our hypothesis as to the powerful influence of the Shâstric instructions over Indo-Javanese art.

In developing the hypothesis we have not advanced beyond the point which we were able to reach with the aid of the few data at our disposal. Not until the South Indian texts, out of which only fragments have hitherto been published, are published and explained in their entirety, can we say with certainty whether the path which we have followed in this reconnoitring expedition is the right one or not.

We do not conceal from ourselves that, if the first case is true, many new perspectives would be opened. The method of investigation and explanation of Indo-Javanese art should be put into an entirely new mould; its relationship to the related Eastern-Asiatic arts could perhaps be defined with greater exactness; even the modern Bali art, in which there still occurs so much of what is incomprehensible, might be brought nearer to us. We name only a few theoretical problems, in the solution of which the *Silpashastras* may help. But in architectural practice in Java too, for instance in the re-conception of old buildings, the canonical writings may prove aids which are not to be despised. When one can find out with certainty which system has been followed in the construction of the shrines, and when one knows the prescribed proportions of the various parts in relation to each other, one can derive no mean advantage from this knowledge, in the re-conception of missing parts.

In conclusion we shall also point out that, should the above hypothesis contain truth, one will be forced to take up a new standpoint with regard to the aesthetic criticism of the works of art also. One should not admire the builders and sculptors on the merits of the results attained by strict obedience to useful but dry instructions, but rather because of the beauty which, in spite of the instructions and thanks to their own artistic spirit, they were able to give to their creations.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Now that more light has fallen on the old history of Java by the great discovery of Coedes (93) and the solution of the origin of the Indo-Javanese art has been simplified, we take the opportunity to test the historical facts of our lecture delivered at Solo in 1919 with the new constellation of historical facts. We hereby follow three explanations of

(93) "Le Royaume de Crivijaya" Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient, Tome XVIII, 6, 1918.

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Professor N. J. Krom's of which two (94) were written before, and one, (95) after Coedes' discovery, in which the same questions which have been worrying us are discussed. In the fourth chapter of the "Introduction," Professor Krom remarks that "some resemblances between Indo-Javanese and British Indian architecture have led us to some erroneous conclusions regarding relationship between the arts developed in Java and in British India, and also asserts on the basis of a personal study that it is not true that we could show in a certain way or in a certain path in British India the clear prototype of the Javanese temples." From this we draw the conclusion which is explained more minutely in the monograph on Boroboedoer. "The Indo-Javanese art, whomsoever we may thank for its development and how it has developed itself, is in any case no longer a Hindu art—planted in Java—but has a certain strange and characteristic Indo-Javanese character." This is in complete agreement with what we have mentioned in the beginning and in the end of our "hypothesis." The declaration which up to now did not seem necessary to be proved that the oldest middle Javanese buildings were made by full-blooded Hindu immigrants is inconsistent with everything that a comparative research has proved. But now the origin of that Indo-Javanese art which lies hidden behind the time of the foundation of the very oldest buildings which have survived and must contain the explanation how the Javanese architecture and sculpture are unaided creations, non-Indian in many of her characteristic features and at the same time, if considered from another point of view, displays features identical with many phases of the Hindu art. Professor Krom, lecturing over the uncertain history of the middle Javanese architecture (Introduction I, p. 97) conjectures that the Indo-Javanese art was born out of a pure Hindu art which has changed its character in Java in the centuries which separated the oldest Hindu settlements in West Java from about the 4th century from the middle Javanese period: "Of the old Hindu colonists whose inscriptions were found in West Java, we have not a single building either because they were made of wood or for any other reason which cannot be accounted for (Parmentier, 'Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams d'Annam,' 1913, p. 49, and our notes regarding Javanese wood architecture of the middle Javanese period. Handbook Solo Congress, p. 168). If there was a temple belonging to the days of Poernavarman, we would have the chance of seeing a building of almost pure Hindu type and perhaps be able to find out where the prototype could be found in the motherland. This is now, however, impossible." We have been able to interpret how we have pictured the birth of Minerva from the spoken and written traditions. Who is right? It would be useless to find this out. Now that we have a new *stadium* by Coedes discovery, a French professor has been able to prove that there was most probably, from the beginning of the fifth century, a powerful Hindu-Malaya Kingdom of the name of Crivijaya—ruled by the dynasty of the Cailendras, of which the capital was close to the present Palembang and the power of which, in the seventh and eighth century dominated over a great portion of south and middle Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Professor Krom proved in his lecture that also middle Java, according to the inscription of Kalasan (778 A. D.), was ruled by Crivijaya and the foundation of the Mahayana and the great Buddhist temples at Jogyokartta and Kedoe were executed by Cailendra (Krom: "Sumatran Period of Javanese history," p. 30). The importance of this discovery need not be so great if taken in connection with the Indo-Javanese art as it seems in the beginning. Even if the Cailendra Kings of Sumatra were the founders of the Buddhistic middle Javanese buildings, it has not been proved by that that the artists were the silpins of Sumatra. Before the supremacy of Cailendra, over Java, in the inscription of Chengkal of 753 A.D., the building of a sanctuary is mentioned. There was therefore already then a Hindu-Javanese architecture, and we can presume that the conquering of Crivijaya only made changes in

(94) Barabudur—Monographie en de Inleding tot de Hindoe Javanese Kunnst 1920, I, Het IV, vgl. II, p. 289.

(95) De Sumatraansche periode der Javannsche geschiedenis (1919).

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Java in politics and religion, and the sanctuaries were built by Javanese architects, even though the masters ordered it from the other side of the sea. We have something to remark, however, against this hypothesis. The Mahayana has been the cause or inspirator of the architecture and sculpture which were indispensible for its religion in all countries where it had adherents. Ruins of buildings and the discovery of stone and brass images in Palembang and Djambi make us presume that the inspirer of the religion had influence long ago in Crivijaya. The inscriptions on the Malay Peninsula close to the Bay of Bandon inscribed by a Cailendra King in 775 A.D. refers to a building with three *stupas*. Here we have therefore a certain proof that architecture was executed in the 8th century in the Crivijaya Kingdom and developed itself. Remembering these facts, we shall have to consider the possibility, even the probability, when studying the oldest middle Javanese temples, that countrymen of the founders, that is to say Hindu-Malaya artists, also helped with the buildings. To prove the Sumatra influence in the Javanese art is very difficult. As the Hindu-Malaya and Hindu-Javanese intercourse were superficially identical, we can look for that influence in the design of the building as Professor Krom seems to do. We can also see whether various peculiarities of decoration are found amongst the Malayas. The ordinary village people, living at the foot of the Boroboedoer, show decidedly non-Javanese, rather Malay features. We can also find the same peculiarities with their weapons, utensils and clothings. Did the Malaya sculptors use their countrymen as models ? We also point out the images of animals and plants on the reliefs of the *stupa* temple and the main temple of Prambanam. Are the animals and plants of Sumatra or of Java pictured here ? A research made by some archæologist would most probably be able to answer some of these questions. We therefore need not give up all hopes that it is not impossible to make a distinction of the Sumatra art in the oldest Hindu-Javanese art productions; at present, however, we must accept what we know from Crivijaya. This conclusion, however meagre, cannot remain without influence on the hypothesis which we made of the origin and the first development of the Hindu-Javanese art. A different explanation of the most probable hypothesis regarding the entrance of the art than the one we have made could be the sudden development of the Buddhistic architecture—in the building of Kalasan due to the lessons of Malay artists. The lines of development need not be drawn from Dieng to Kalasan as we have presumed, but from Crivijaya to Kalasan. At the same time the question of the origin of the Hindu-Javanese art, at least as regards the Hindu-Malaya elements, is answered between Java and Palembang and between the 8th century to the 7th century and still further back. Again we could put the question:— Was the art of Crivijaya transplanted to Java of a pure British Indian type, imported there by Hindu immigrants, or is it derived from the *Silpashastras* and practised by Hinduised Malay people ? Although we possess some structures and inscriptions in Java which would give us a chance of hypothising the origin of the art, we do not possess such data in Sumatra. We have come so far that only a *non liquet* could be the reply to the above question.

In our opinion there is only one way to really develop the enquiry, that is the complete publication of the guild-books which contain the technical descriptions. If it is then proved that here is a connection between those prescriptions and the oldest productions of the Hindu-Javanese art, then we are at liberty to presume that a living imported British Indian art with a long past behind its back is not its origin but the artists took it directly from the *Silpashastras*. These constitute then certainly the pure Hindu art of which Professor Krom speaks. It is proved that the art went through a period of development in Sumatra. This development did not exist by going off the path which the prescriptions enjoined but in the practice of the artists whereby they taught themselves the necessary technical lessons, refined their tastes and learned how to use the material so that they came out triumphantly in 700 Saka in the building of Kalasan tjandi.

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IV.—A PORTRAIT OF HUMAYUN.

THE second of the great Mogul Emperors of India is not so well represented in the extant portraits as his more fortunate descendants. While the portraits of Akbar and Aurangzeb are numerous, Humayun (A.D. 1555—1580) seems to have been honoured with a comparatively less number of portraits. Special interest therefore attaches to his unpublished portrait which we publish here in the colour plate opposite, from the collection of Mr. Sitaram Shah of Benares, of whose generous courtesy it is a pleasure to record our acknowledgment here. Very few people will be inclined to dissent, if we characterize this beautiful miniature as the very best of the portraits of Humayun and one of the most typical of the early Mogul portraits. If we except, for the moment, the portrait of Humayun which occurs in the well known illuminated manuscript in the Khudabaksh Library, Bankipur (manuscripts No. 551, Tarikh-i-Khandan-i Timuriyah, folio 273b, "Humayan's accession to the throne), we find that the only other example with which our portrait, here, demands a comparison is the archaic portrait by Bhagawati in the British Museum (Binyon "Court Painters," Plate V). There are some examples of the portrait of this Emperor in the collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, e.g., OD 45, Voyage de Manucci, folio 9, Française 24219, folio 201 and 218. The portrait in the Manucci manuscripts, now reproduced in the Storia do Mogor (Plate VII), is of second-rate merit and has departed very far from the traditions of the earlier portraits. The inferior copies attached to Colonel Gentil's manuscripts (A.D. 1772) are not worth consideration. Bhagawati's portrait, evidently belonging to the early years of Akbar's reign, displays such slavish imitation of Persian mannerisms that we may take it to be a copy of some earlier, perhaps, contemporary portrait of Humayun. The "halo," such an inevitable feature of Mogul royal portraits, is wanting in Bhagawati's miniature, as in all portraits of Persian princes. It was an innovation introduced by the Court painters of Akbar, being an adaptation from Hindu and Buddhist images. This was the Hindu artist's imaginary touch of the divinity in the royal personage ("Dillîswaro-'bâ jagadîswaro'bâ:" the Lord of Delhi was, perhaps, the Lord of the World). Bhagawati's portrait, therefore, represents a style anterior to that of Akbar. As there are no extant portraits of Humayun which could claim to be contemporary, Bhagawati's copy is the only medium through which we can guess the style of contemporary likenesses. Of course there is no direct evidence that any contemporary portrait of Humayun ever existed, though there are indirect evidences of his having come into contact with artists. After being dethroned by Sher Shah, he sought refuge in the Court of Shah Thamasp in Persia in A.D. 1544. During his stay in the Persian Court, the patron of Bihzad and Mirak every day sent to the exiled Emperor presents of "rare and strange things" which might have included paintings. More direct evidence is, however, offered by the manuscripts in the Khudabaksh Library above referred to. In this manuscript (at folio 298a) the names of Khwajâh Abd-us-Samad and one Mir Sayyid Ali (one of the artists attached to the Court of Shah Thamasp) are incidentally mentioned as the teachers of the Emperor Humayun. It is probable that the Emperor may have dabbled with artists and his portrait may have been taken during his life-time. It is impossible to regard Bhagawati's sketch as an imaginary portrait, for it not only tallies with the present example, but is also related to the portrait of Humayun in the large group portrait: "Princes of the House of Timur" in the British Museum from Kashmir (Binyon: Plate XIII). Since Prince Parviz who was appointed heir-apparent in A.D. 1622 figures in the group, the painting could not be much earlier than that year. If we now compare our portrait with that in the "Princes of the House of Timur," we discover a resemblance nearer than Bhagawati's miniature. The turban, the dress and the general attitude are very analogous. Yet, somehow, the general character of our portrait does not seem to carry it beyond the reign of Akbar. We are inclined to date it early in that reign. If we

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recall some of the portraits of the Persian school, it is not difficult to draw analogies with our example. Take, for instance, the portrait of a prince which figures in a "Pastoral scene" signed by Ustad Mohammad (16th century) in the Goloubew collection. The throne and the general features have surprising contact with our portrait of Humayun. But the nearest affinity is offered by the series of three portraits of Miran Shah, Humayun and Akbar which occur in the Bodelian Library, Manuscripts Ousley Add 173, folios 3,9 and 19, respectively. It is difficult to assign any dates to these portraits. The portrait of Akbar is in three-quarters—as that of Humayun, while Miran Shah is represented in profile—a feature which became a mannerism with later Mogul portraits. If this can be taken as an indication, the portraits of Akbar and of Humayun should belong to the early part of Akbar's reign. The portrait of Humayun must have been painted, on the basis of earlier copies, when the fashion of profile portraits had not come into use. We do not think it is possible to carry the question of chronology of these portraits any further. Whatever may be its date, the portrait displays the best quality of delicacy, refinement and elegance of the school of Mogul portraiture. It is indeed a rare example of one of the earliest phase of characteristic Mogul miniature. The size of the original is 8" × $5\frac{1}{2}$" excluding the large passe-partout border, which is omitted in the reproduction.

V.—THE FUTURE OF INDIAN ART.*

By JAMES H. COUSINS.

ALL change arises ultimately out of the inner nature, and passes through a cycle from original enthusiasm, through development and imitation, to fatigue. Yet, though there is this general cycle, there is also the unknown quantity of genius to be reckoned with. The "Passing World" School of Art in Japan flourished for 250 years and produced 250 fine artists; yet, though it succumbed to aniline poisoning, it produced, in the last phase of its life, two world-masters, Hokusai and Hiroshige. The "Passing World" school arose out of the necessity for a free democratic expression of Japanese life. It died by a foreign hand. Prophecy, therefore, has need to be either of the inspired order to rise above the interactions of circumstances, or else has need to be a humble and tentative observer of tendencies past and present, out of which may arise some more or less confident inferences as to the future.

This process of art-speculation is, as a matter of fact, troubling the minds of students of human affairs in various parts of the world. There is a general expectancy of a new renaissance over a wider area than any hitherto experienced, and questions are being asked not only as to the future of local art, but as to the future of world-art. Says Raphael Petrucci in his conclusion to Chinese Painters—"For the Far East, as for Europe" (and we apply this to India also) "the problem now presented is that of a revival. Bent beneath the weight of the prestige of the past, too learned in the last word of culture, modern art is seeking to find itself, groping blindly, full of promising but unfinished works. The time has come when there are signs throughout the world of a desire for a universal civilization, by the reconciling of ancient divergencies. Europe and the Far East bring into contrast the most vigorous traditions in history. Henceforward, there is interest for both civilizations in studying and coming to understand a foreign ideal..... Such a mutal comprehension is not imposed, and if egotistic prejudices are overcome, apparent dissimilarities will be resolved into a profound identity. Thus will arise the elements of a new culture."

I have myself summarized the world situation thus in my volume *Work and Worship:* The question arises—"How far, and in what directions will the racial and other characteristics of art indicated above develop? Will they proceed along eternally parallel lines, or will they converge? At present there

* A lecture delivered before the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

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appears to be a stop, and with the stop the symptoms of renaissance. European realism has exhausted things seen, and thinks to find an extension of itself in a new dimension. Japanese sensibility has exhausted things felt, and looks for new sensation in the adoption of Western methods. Indian symbolism has exhausted things thought, and is seeking escape from scholasticism by having direct recourse to the inner life in the peace of Santiniketan. Heretofore the spirit of renaissance has expressed itself in Europe through individuality, through the birth of compelling genius; in Japan through dynastic eras which enunciated new attitudes; in India through religious revival. In past times there was very little inter-communication between these expressions of art. To-day there is not only inter-communication but interference. The Bengal school has arisen out of revolt against the imposition of South Kensington on Calcutta. The Westernization of Japanese art is as much a protective anti-toxic measure against the threat half a century ago of national obscuration, as the adoption of such civilized talismans as bowler hats and knives and forks. Asia, too, is exerting her influence on Europe in English literature and French music. The spirit of renaissance is afoot, but it lacks direction and afflatus. Its inspiration came of old from levels higher than its attainment. It has risen to those levels, and is bewildered because the waterfall has not the same force at its top as at its foot. 'The glimpse of a height that is higher' is needed. The glimpse will not come with inspiring power while art is a specialized luxury, the craze of a narrow-eyed cult, the slave of mental or emotional bigotry. To accomplish the needed return to freshness of purpose and enthusiasm and naïvetè, it is necessary that youth be restored to art by the giving of art to youth in freedom to move this way or that as the wind of the Spirit bloweth where it listeth."

This call for mutual comprehension is certain of hearing. It has the lure of expanding horizons and new worlds. It may bring about certain minor modifications in the various arts through exchange of the machinery of art. But, as far as Indian art is concerned, in addition to this direct external interchange, there is bound to be a certain amount of reflex influence arising from the growth of appreciation of Indian art in the West. This appreciation will not arise only from change between special lovers of art, but because Indian art can supply two needs (until their own painters can do so) which are becoming more insistent among the people of the West. These two needs are—Beauty and Spirituality. Mr. Jacob Epstein, the English sculptor, recently told an interviewer that they had had enough of the sordid and the ugly in art; they wanted more beauty. He would, therefore, make it compulsory for every art student and teacher to visit the National Gallery and the British Museum at least once a week—if possible, everyday—for instructions which can only be derived from the works of the Old Masters. Thus he would hope to abolish mediocrity by the contemplation of the supreme.

But perpetual craving towards the past is apt to give the national neck a twist; and it is very likely that the New Masters of India, once they become known to the West, will find as warm a welcome as the Old Masters, because of their gift of both of Mr. Epstein's requirements, beauty and mastery; for there is hardly a work of the new Bengal school of painting which is not alive with both.

Mr. Epstein did not mention the other need, spirituality, but it is there. The soul of the West is hungering and thirsting for the food and water of the spiritual life. It is tired of a solidified theology and a desiccated mythology. It wants "life more abundant," and the indications of that life is an art that is transparent and vibrant enough to disclose it with sufficient clearness to make confidence but with just enough aloofness to give the touch of romance and mystery. Europe took over an Asian religion; she might also take over an Asian art; at least, she is sure to appreciate the mastery, beauty and spiritual quality of modern Indian art; and out of this appreciation there can hardly fail to be a reaction on Indian art. This may take two directions—subject matter and technique.

The influence of exterior appreciation may lead to a gradual departure from the at-present rather ubiquitous and persistent pauranic symbolism in Indian painting, and the adoption of a more natural symbolism capable of understanding by the general mind.

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Symbolism will remain. All great art and literature speak in the voice of symbolism. The vocabulary of that voice may range from the universal symbolism of Rabindranath Tagore to traditional symbolism which appeals to a race or the followers of a religion, or to specialized symbolism which calls for special preparation for its understanding, like the early symbolism of Yeats. But while this is true, and interpretation and suggestion remain as the tests of art, there must be no renunciation of the life of art; for art, handed over body and soul to symbolism, will find inartistic death, as it did in the Ming era in China; while symbolism saturated with life will confer on art the immortality which belongs to all things that are vitalized by a larger life than their immediate own.

External appreciation may also lead to some modifications of method, both in satisfaction of the natural need of the creative artist for technical adventure in other regions of art than his own, and in sympathetic desire to adapt his pictorial idiom to the better understanding of his new audience.

In other words, Will the Indian artists take to oil-painting? Japan has tried it—with disastrous results so far. That may be only because the change is one of external technique and does not call upon the creative reinforcement of the spirit. The Indian artist, operating from a deeper centre, and seeking a means of expression that will provide a finer *rapport* between himself and his friends abroad, may be able to handle oils without soiling his distinctively Indian hands.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the fact that, while Europe discovered and took to oil-painting at the close of the fourteenth century, Asia held on to water-colour. That there was something fundamental in this choice is emphasized in the following extract from *Work and Worship*:—"We believe it is more than fancy to see in oil a symbol of artistic speculation and in water a symbol of reflection in art, and to connect these symbols with the temperamental choice of materials made by Western and Eastern art. European art has never been at peace. The wheels of its activity have called for perpetual lubrication. Its genius for experimentation found in oil a means to its fulfilment, since oil-colour permits of change, of the superimposing of colour on colour, and the attainment of effects and brilliancy which are the joy of the speculative temperament. Out of this speculation have arisen the various art-sects of Europe—classical, romantic, pre-Raphælite, impressionist, post-impressionist, futurist, cubist. All this activity indicates the positive, aggressive, self-conscious stir of the concrete mind—of intellectualism, which is realism at the mental level. Realism in the mind and in art calls for clarity, for 'truth to nature'" (that is, to what the eye sees with definition), but it has come gradually to be realized that what the eye sees (as a realization in consciousness) is not always an exact reproduction of the image on the retina. Likes and dislikes add subtle colours to the inner picture. Hence have arisen (through the adaptability of oil-colours to experiment) the various European schools which, in the latest psychological phases, while still looking forward through the eyes towards external objects, are as much concerned with painting *how* a thing is seen as painting the thing itself. These later phases of European art are, however, still in the cult stage. Western average taste in art calls for the test of nature, even as Leonardo da Vinci did at the end of the fifteenth century when the controversy over oil and water had just ended in favour of oil. "That is the greatest painting," he said, "which agrees most with the thing represented"; and his test of reality was the comparing of the picture with the original object reflected in a mirror. Ruskin, the apostle of realism in painting, gives a realist's opinion of oil and water in the following unequivocal terms:—"In all the exercises of artists, oil should be the vehicle of colour employed from the first. The extended practice of water-colour painting, as a separate skill, is in every way harmful to the arts: its pleasant slightness and plausible dexterity divert the genius of the painter from its proper aims, and withdraw the attention of the public from the excellence of higher claims."

Mr. Ruskin's quarrel with water-colour for its "pleasant slightness and plausible dexterity" makes its full revelation of the realist mind when we ask what are the opposed excellences to these, which, by inference *per contra*, give oil-colour its superiority—these

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are, serious solidity and solemn industry; that is to say, uninspired laboriousness.

These "excellences" are the essential characteristics of mentality in art carrying labour along a line away from the moment of inspiration. They stand for art working in its own cinders. But inspiration and dexterity hold hands tightly. They are the flaming moments of executive energy that rise out of the passivity of contemplation when (the questioning mind being stilled) some touch of the invisible Reality of the Spirit whirls the being to fusion and to an instantaneous utterance which demands dexterity and chafes at the obstruction of solidity.

This is, I believe, a fundamental matter, and I am, therefore, not afraid that the sending of Bengal artists to Europe (after the age of thirty) will imperil their genius or work. Their art is not a profession or a hobby, but a spiritual necessity which can neither be speeded up by oil nor extinguished by water.

In addition to influence from the West, Indian art in the future will, as in the past, have to deal with influences from the other great art-centres of Asia. It is a fairly safe prophecy that it will do with them as it has always done—make them its own by transforming them into its own being. The ability of Indian art to perform this assimilable process reappears in full force in the modern Bengal school. You can fill a gallery with pictures in which the spiritual idealism of Ajanta, the homely realism of Rajputana, and the meticulous technique of the Moguls, are blended in a perfect art-synthesis by the solvent of a new and distinctive creative impulse.

The charge of imitating Japan is sometimes filed against the modern Indian painters; but where Japan enters Bengal, it does so not as a domicilable outsider, but as a blood-relation who has been living away from home, and such dealings as the Indian artists have with Japan are no more than a mother's acceptance of something of her own that a daughter has elaborated and handed back. But, as a matter of fact, India is full of pictures that, were I to draw or paint them, and slip them into my portfolio, would be called "Japanese." There are numberless glimpses of moods of nature from Karachi to Tokyo (including China and Korea) that are so kindred to one another in form, texture, atmosphere and colouring, that they could be interchanged without anyone being the wiser. In fact the objectors to the "Japanese influence" in modern Indian painting would be hard set to tell from many a natural sight, if put on paper, whether it was Japan influencing India or India influencing Japan—and it might be neither, but China influencing Korea and vice versa.

In any event, if Japan proceeds further and longer on the path of westernization, there will soon be no supply of "Javanese influence" left. On the other hand, if the soul of Japan asserts itself once more, it is likely that India will be called on, as of yore, to work Japan's redemption. We see signs of something like this in a Japanese artist's reversion to Ajanta in the 1920 Exhibition of Taikwan's school. I would almost essay prophecy here, that Japan will come to the point of making the great demand of salvation on India, and that India is in preparation for that great mission.

This is a legitimate speculation from history. The sense of continuity in Indian culture is so strong that one may assume with considerable certainty that forces in the past will assert themselves in the future. Probably the greatest force in the past is religion. Out of religion art arose. "Art for Art's sake" never applied in India. It would also be a mistake to say that the motto of India is "Art for Religion's sake." It is nearer the truth to say that both are the synchronous expression of one impulse to new life. Life is for ever advancing; but each advance ultimately slows down, and around its margin grow up obstructions. There comes a time of pause. Then the obstructions usurp the function of life; form predominates. But the vital expansion again asserts itself; it is provoked and inspired by its captor.

There are signs to-day in India of a new pulsation in the age-long rhythm of expansion. These signs are not of academical restorations. They come out of the necessities of the spirit. They are expressing themselves in the "people." To-day all over India there are indications of expansion, for example, in the consciousness of women. They are no longer satisfied at being reduced to the exposition of a single human function.

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They demand a fuller life. Simultaneously we see a growing restiveness on the part of the vast masses of "untouchables." The gradually and mercilessly elaborated system has come in certain parts of India to the point when exasperation awakes. Swami Vivekananda called Malabar "the lunatic asylum of India." The impositions of the higher castes on the lower in the country is now bringing its reaction. A steady movement towards Buddhisim has begun, and it is not unlikely that it will extend beyond Malabar.

Indeed, it would appear that the cycle is at hand that brings a new spiritual awakening. First comes a great simplification; then the natural elaboration; then a revolt towards simplification again. The latter is now due; and it is not unlikely that we shall see a great Buddhist Revival. This will have its inevitable accompaniment of art. There will not be a reversal to the time when Buddhist images were forbidden; but there will be a simplification and spiritualization in both Buddhist and Hindu religious art.

But apart from a probable Buddhist revival, it is fairly certain that the influence of the Bengal school of painting will show itself in Southern India in a rising comprehension of true art, and a consequent reduction of the tyranny of the Ravi Varma oleographs. Already the reproductions in *The Modern Review* have done much service in this respect. There will come a larger demand. This will encourage the artists. Emulation will draw out local expression, and new creators will incarnate in the South. South India will not for long be content to exist on Bengal reproductions. It will make its own response to the creative impulse, and when new works appear they will find themselves confronted by energetic enemies—damp, drought, dust and insects. The demand for art in the home will lead to adjustments of means to ends. Those who can afford it will resort to glass fronts and tin backs to pictures. Those who cannot, will have recourse to other means. I foresee, through the development of artistic taste, a revival and domestication of mural painting; and this, from its very nature, will bring about a development of pure design.

This will also have the effect (anticipated by Mlle. Karpélès in *Rupam* Nos. 13 and 14) of bringing more space and muscle into modern Indian painting. This I state as a mere possibility, not as an inferred rebuke to the "sonnet's scanty plot of ground," in which the lyricists in form and colour in Bengal are content to find their spatial universe. Physical size and power have their place in nature, largely as means to impress the insensitive. But those mentally and emotionally awake do not need to be bludgeoned into response; and since the tendency of life is towards the development of ever finer and higher degrees of responsiveness, it appears to me that the Indian artists are right in adopting the 'mantric' form of an evocative art instead of wasting themselves in tedious epics. "One grass-leaf in its Veins wisdom's whole flood contains," says Francis Thompson. To reduce bulk and expand significance is the way of evolution. God the *artist* is *not* on the side of the big battalions.

It would appear, therefore, that the appeal and appreciation of art in India, as elsewhere, cannot be restricted to cults. The appreciation of subject matter and technical skill has its pleasure, but it is temporary and limited. The test of the future, with its growing realization of the Divine Personality infused through every particle of the universe, will not be the test of *message*, such as the Philistines impose, or the test of "ulimate art values" which are esoteric, technical, and imposed by the articulate craftsmen. It will be the test of *life*. And the pleasure will not be of the head only (which is the limitation of the Philistine), or of the æsthetic sensibility only (which is the limitation of the artists), but of the whole being.

This widening of understanding of art is likely to be aided by the coming development of Indian art-criticism and the enunciation of the Indian philosophy of the beautiful which at present is scattered and implicit in the classic literature of India. Western æsthetics are as remote from creative art as Western philosophy is from life. When Western philosophers touch art they make it inartistic. When Western artists touch philosophy they make it unphilosophical. But the Indian genius, rising from its central realization of the unity of all manifestation and activity, will make the same vital identification between artistic creation and the philosophy of beauty as it has done between life and the

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philosophy of life. Still, it is desirable to utter the warning that, if Indian art is to grow, it must be kept free from the deadening influences of "schools" and external interference. It has the right to demand free sustenance from the national larder, and it has the right to reject control by those whose duty it is to provide the sustenance. The history of the Sung Era in Chinese painting and of the Kano school in Japanese painting shows the fatality of the doctrine that official support carries the right of official control. The foundation of the Imperial Academy of Calligraphy and Painting by the Chinese Emperor Hui Tsung in the early years of the twelfth century, had, as is pointed out by Raphael Petrucci, "results quite other than those hoped for by its founder." It became imbued with the evils of formalism. Conventions were established, subjects became stereotyped, the taste for brilliant colours developed. Pedantry and affectation began to take the place of boldness and strength.

In the seventeenth century, in Japan, a great organizing genius arose, Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate. He regimented every activity of the nation. The academies of the Kano school of painting became government departments. A mechanical routine of study and practice was carried out. Any infringement of the system meant the dreadful degradation of being denied the Kano artist's privilege of wearing two swords! The result was a degradation of official art, and a reaction to the Yukiyoe, or "Passing World" school.

But above and beneath all influences from "temporal and immediate circumstance," there is the abiding thing in Indian art that will continue to preserve it through all the fluctuations of time—its spiritual vision that sees only life; its more than faith in life after life for the accomplishment of the purposes of the immortal spirit. This vision and faith cannot be moved by either dilettante trifling or the serious business of artistic revolution, but will carry the art of India on through era after era as the witness of the spirit—an art transparent, luminous, significant and calm.

VI.—NOTES ON TWO JAINA METAL IMAGES.

By W. S. HADAWAY.

I. An image from South Kanara belonging to K. Kay, Esq.

II. A north Indian image.

(Figure I).

Jina Mahâvîra: This image is identified by its nude state as belonging to the Digambaris sect of Jainas, and by its badge, or cognizance, the ion, as of "Jina Mahâvîra." the founder of Jainism.

The deity is sitting on a *padmasana* (lotus seat) with his hands in *yoga mudra* and legs in the *padmasana* pose, that is, folded with the soles of the feet upward.

Above, and surrounding the head, is a canopy made of a seven-headed cobra surmounted by a three-tiered umbrella (*chattra*). Above this, again, is an ornamental scroll, and in the centre of the plain part of the *prabht* a *caitya* which forms the apex. Leaf-like forms finish the edge of the *prabha*, which springs on both sides from the mouths of *makaras*.

These are supported on single columns rising behind the two lower attendant figures. To the right and left, a little above the image, are standing two attendants with fly whisks, and below these, again, to the extreme right and left, are the male and female figures, Dharanendra and Padmavati. Above the head-dress of each of the four attendant figures is a single-hooded cobra, while Dharanendra holds a club and a vessel and Padmavati a lotus.

One hand of each of the four attendants is in the *abhaya mudra*. The other symbols are rather indistinct, and hardly recognizable, except two other *makara* heads in front of the standing attendants. Below the seat of the deity, in the centre, is his badge, the lion.

The composition is remarkably ornate without excessive over-elaboration, the greater interest centering in the plain unadorned figure of the deity in the centre, which is in striking contrast to the other figures and the wonderfully suggested ornament above.

The depth of the shadow, formed by the cobra hood, throws out, in strong relief, the head of the image, and the smooth rounded forms of the arms, legs and torso, set the figure apart from its background, making it, as it should be, the principal point of interest.

The outline and construction of the seat and *prabha* are, perhaps, unique. From each side of the base a scroll supports the secondary seats of the two lower attendants and the base from which the

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Fig. I.

Fig III.

Fig II.

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column on each side springs, and the open pierced spaces relieve the composition, as a whole, from any feeling of heaviness or undue solidity.

Technically, from the workman's point of view, the back of the image is an interesting study in craftsmanship, with its runners and strengthening pieces applied with so much skill and knowledge.

The lower back part of the pedestal is inscribed in Kanarese characters of the 10th—11th century, and the translation is as follows:—

"The illustrious Maldayya of Prithavi-Gollarijas, a follower of Gunasena, pupil of Mallisena Bhatara of the Mata .... gana, gave (this image)."

The image is of copper with a very black *patina*, height 13¾ in., width 11 5/8th in.

(Figure II).

AMBIKA.

A four-armed female deity, seated in the *lalitasana* attitude (a position of ease) upon a *padmasana* (lotus seat) of hour-glass form.

The left knee is supported by a lion, perhaps a suggestion of a lion throne; a small figure, probably of the donor, or possibly an attendant, standing to the right with its hand resting on the right knee of the deity.

The deity's first left hand supports the child sitting on its left knee and with the first right hand holds what is probably intended for a lotus; the back right hand holds a *pasa* or noose and the left an *ankusa* or elephant goad. The pedestal is perforated.

The eyes are overlaid with silver and a silver *tilak* or dot is on the *caitya* which surmounts the *prabha*. Below the *caitya* is a seated figure of a Jaina in a shrine. At the back is a Nagari inscription with date Samvat 1519 (A.D. 1462). The image is of brass, 4 5/8 in. high, and is probably of North Indian origin. The translation of the inscription, which was given by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri Avl., is as follows:—

"(Vikrama)—Samvat 1519, the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Vaisakha—on this day—(this) holy image of Ambika, was caused to be made by the two Nahata-sai and the prosperous Dralunasai members of the Savala sect."

The image corresponds in many essential particulars with another Jaina image, slightly larger in size, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, U. S. A. illustrated in Plate LXXXVI of the Sculpture Catalogue of the Indian Section of the Museum (1923).

In the Boston example the Ambika holds a trident and drum in the two back hands, while the one here illustrated holds the noose and the trident.

Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri suggests that this Ambika may be the Yakshini attendant of the 22nd Jaina Trithankara Neminatha of the Swetambara Jainas of the North. Artistically, the image in its present state is not particularly interesting, though the composition and general outline and proportions are pleasing.

Iconographically, however, it is of considerable interest as an example of the fusion of Hindu and Jaina mythology. Ambika is both a name of Siva and of Parvati and the noose and goad are both Siva symbols.

The state of the image, so very much worn as to eliminate all the more delicate features of the modelling, coupled with the date (1462 A.D. is from an archæological point of view, perhaps useful in helping to determine the dates of other images.

But one must take into consideration the fact of its size and its use, probably as a household deity (which meant very frequent cleaning and consequent abrasion) when comparing its surface condition with that of other images. Any image to which we can, by evidence so incontrovertible, assign a definite date, is useful in helping to determine the vexed question of the antiquity of Indian metal figures in general.

VII.—A NOTE ON CHINESE DRAMA.*

By L. K. ELMHIRST.

THE staging of drama in China has much in common with the old Elizabethan drama in England. There is a single entrance on the left, a single exit on the right. The band occupies the centre of the stage and plays vigorously most of the time. I saw a typical play being put on in the old fashioned way up in Shansi where the stage was on the first floor of one of the Temple buildings, open on three sides, so that the whole audience looks up at the players. The roof was a very effective sounding board and the band played loudly in order to be heard by all the audience. No one seems to be very particular about hearing the words, since apparently everyone knows the story off by heart. As in the Elizabethan Theatre, so here, much is left to the imagination, and in fact the chief attention of the actors, from boyhood up, is devoted to mastering the appropriate gesture. This gesturing gives a rather unnatural appearance to the play from the Western standpoint, but at the hands of an expert such as Lang Fang whom I saw in Peking, it becomes a most exquisite and artistic symbolism. A fight on the Chinese stage looks for all the world like a terrific scrap in which everyone must get slain. It is really an acrobatic performance of the highest order.

You will naturally want to know to what extent the ancient tradition has been affected by the introduction of modern standards. When I first

* Published by the courtesy of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore from a letter addressed to the poet.

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visited the Hankow Theatre I was horrified to see the change since my first experience of Chinese drama staged by a Chinese Company in Mesopotamia in 1916. In the Shanghai Theatre the band had left the stage and was in the orchestra, certain odious drop curtains had been introduced showing signs of a second-rate western scene-painter's workmanship. A number of conjuring tricks in modern style had been added giving a certain realistic effect to what before had been left to the imagination. I called on Mr. Moi, at his home, one of the leading actors and singers of the piece and was delighted to see his small boy of eight being put through the rigid training which is part of an actor's training and education in China. Mr. Moi invited me to visit him behind the scenes on the following night. During his free moments we discovered or discussed his modern development. "One great difficulty" he said "is that with you in the West the actor and the theatre have a certain standing. It is true that under the Chinese Empire, actors may have had Imperial patronage, but in general they have always been looked down upon. They have never been able to dictate in any way to their audiences. Unfortunately my present position as actor and proprietor makes it impossible for me to visit the Western theatre in Shanghai as I used to do. I agree with you that there are certain innovations of mine which are unfortunate, but they represent an answer to the insistent demand of a city-bred population unwilling to make that effort of imagination which the theatre used to demand from its clients and ever seeking new sensations that appeal directly to the eye. There are other innovations, however, which are really an advantage. I have put the orchestra in the gallery to the side and that gives me much more freedom on the stage as well as a chance to make use of back curtains and lighting effects neither of which were possible under the old conditions. Many of my earlier innovations had to be discarded quickly. You in your theatres dictate to some extent to your audiences. you demand silence, you turn off the lights when the piece begins and you end your performance at a reasonable hour, instead of at two or three in the morning. In China, men entertain their friends at the theatre; they must have their drinks and refreshments, their smokes and their conversations. The play itself is only one of many means towards this end—hospitality. I tried cutting down the hours; my clients refused to come. I also tried dimming the light, but immediately there were complaints of pickpocketing and thieving as well as of interference with the consumption of refreshment, besides which the children were frightened. You will see, however, that we have kept much of the best of the old. We still retain our old high standards of acting, of gesture, of acrobatics, of singing. Our leading actors still spend huge sums upon their embroidered costumes. We are experimenting with our audience and with new methods all the time."

After taking me all about the back of the stage as well as underneath, complaining all the while bitterly at the total lack of accommodation for actors that the Chinese theatres offer compared to Western houses, Mr. Moi sat down to make himself up as an old Chinese dowager. In the big theatres I saw no woman taking part, the highest salaries still being given to men who can best simulate women in figure, feature, gesture and voice.

The process of "make up" took some twenty minutes, and was done with the precision of a miniature artist. The texture of the Chinese skin and its absence from wrinkles and hair makes it possible to use a water colour paint with a fine camel's hair brush. The dowager was as great a success as a work of art, as she was later on the stage. No stage tradition make such demands upon its actors as that of China. Not only must they handle the brush with dexterity but be dancers, acrobats, singers and actors as well. Mr. Chien, who always takes the comic parts at Mr. Moi's theatre, and who was introduced to me afterwards is an excellent example. At 3-30 a.m. he and Mr. Moi entertained me at supper in a Chinese restaurant, and we discussed the stage in general. Mr. Chien had made a rough study of the rôle of comedy. He had a much higher opinion of George Robey as a comedian than of Charley Chaplin. He produced photographs of himself impersonating both gentlemen. At the same time he is regarded as the greatest orthodox comedian on the Chinese stage. For some days I had been trying to discover whether there was any group of Chinese artists carrying on the old traditions of Chinese painting. To my delight I found that Mr. Chien was a member of just such a group and the following day after visiting his own home, and examining some of his work we paid a visit to the home of the society.

The President is an old man, over 80, and some of the pictures exhibited were delightful. I would like to suggest that when you go you take a representative collection of pictures and drawings from Bolpur and Calcutta. They would be delighted to exhibit them at this Society as well as to send a collection back with you. The customs at Shanghai might make some difficulties as they did about the film, but by going direct to the head man, such obstacles can be overcome. Besides being comedian and artist, I found that Mr. Chien had published a volume of his own poetry, and I have with me an illustrated copy of it.

Mai Lang Fang the leading actor in Peking is well worth seeing, but I am afraid you would be appalled by the noise of the music that accompanies him. From what I could gather, the band, accustomed to playing in the open air in order to attract attention at country fairs, has failed to moderate its tune on entering a closed theatre. The result is somewhat astonishing and earsplitting to the foreign visitor. In general I would say that the Chinese drama still retains much of its old country life traditions: traditions based upon the infinite capacity for the exercise of the imagination which country people have. Some would object that like the old morality

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plays in the Middle Ages, it labours under the disadvantage of always having to point a moral. This is not, however, necessarily a disadvantage at all. We were discussing at supper with Mr. Moi the unsettled state of China and my host proceeded to give his own remedy for the existing confusion. "Each man must decide for himself where his duty lies and then pursue that course which his reason dictates. As an actor and theatre proprietor I have no doubt that my own duty lies in putting on the best plays I can in the best possible way which teach and demonstrate the highest of morals." If I understood the teaching of Confucius aright this might have come from the Master's own mouth. To ask a Chinese whether he is a follower of Confucius, would be like asking a cultured and educated man in the West, whether he was in the habit of behaving like a gentleman, and it appears that behind all the historical and national dramas of China lies that thoroughly Confucian ideal and appeal to all that is finest in human nature, a summons to gentlemanly behaviour. Take for instance, Moi's play in Shanghai, I've forgotten the words, the music, but not the plot or the moral. The magistrate of a subdistrict condemns the wrong man to poison. Word comes to the District Magistrate of the case. He suspects foul play and descends into the lower regions peopled with the most realistic of demons and devils, not at all a bad representation of what the psychologists call the "sub-conscious," in order to discover the truth and find the evidence. There he is put to every kind of torture until at the end of a mighty struggle he wins a complete victory over the demon in chief by a magnificent display of common sense and discovers the real villain and his villainy.

It was not at all necessary to understand all the words in order to follow the plot, and though the whole, from this bald statement, may sound like any petty melodrama, one found oneself at the time gripped with the same hopes and fears that held the audience spellbound, checking for a few moments, at least, the cracking of melon seeds and the consumption of tea which accompanies all the theatrical performances in China. In Japan, I found people extolling the Japanese theatre at the expense of the Chinese tradition. I do not deny that in their "N—o" plays "No music, no dancing" as well as in their popular ghost performances in the approved Japanese manner, the Tokyo stage has much that is of unique interest. The "No" which you probably saw and which is the only existing aristocratic drama existing in the world is performed and supported by the best families demanding a highly intelligent audience. For just this reason, however, it fails to be a National dramatic tradition and the ghost plays which the people love are little more than the crudest melodrama. This struck me as being just the opposite of the Chinese tradition, but after all it is hardly fair to pass judgment after what was necessarily but a superficial glimpse, whether in China or Japan. I shall leave the final verdict to you.

REVIEWS.

INDIAN ART AND ART-CRAFTS BY STELLA KRAMRISCH, R. SRINIVASAM, T. G. KRISHNASWAMI PILLAI AND W. D. S. BROWN, FIVE LECTURES DELIVERED DURING THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY'S ANNUAL CONVENTION IN DECEMBER 1922. ADYAR, MADRAS 1923. PRICE, RS. 2.

THIS tiny volume of 78 pages with a misleading and pretentious title of 'Indian Art and Art-crafts' is merely a collection of five lectures delivered at the Theosophical Convention of 1922 and comprises such diverse subjects as "the Significance of Indian Art"; "Indian Music of the South"; "the Art-crafts of South India"; "Guild Socialism and Indian Handicrafts"; "Recent Movements in Western Art." The first and the last are from the pen of Stella Kramrisch. Her essay on the recent movements in Western art is perhaps the most interesting in the volume and gives a succinct but luminous survey of the present tendencies in European art. Notwithstanding the eloquence of Dr. Kramrisch's writings the disintegration of Western ideals and along with it the uncertainty of the very foundations of European culture are brought into glaring relief. The anthropomorphism of the Hellenic art, and even its European phase of feminine nudity with appropriate and delectable labels has ceased to work as the dominant source of inspiration. The quest therefore has begun for something novel, something more stable and at the same time more real than mere visual impression. Europe has long believed in the cult of art for arts' sake, which has not infrequently meant merely the glorification of the human physique. Art in its imitation of nature was divorced from the quality of intellectual analysis and spiritual insight which are after all vital to the creation of any great inspired art. Impressionism, Cubism and Futurism are efforts of the dissatisfied soul groping in the dark and seeking salvation in the fleeting satisfactions of the senses. Each one of these departures in the realm of orthodox art lays emphasis on one or the other aspect of sense-perception of the external world, but misses the vision of the underlying unity behind all the chaos and confusion of the universe. There is already a tendency 'to clasp the fetters' once again after a fruitless search for the novel and the bizarre. After all art is not merely a thing of line and form and colour just as poetry is not merely a collection of words arranged in any particular system of rhymes or metres. In

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each case it is the soaring flight of the spirit which invests the work of the artist or the poet with the radiant quality of an inspired creation.

The opening essay on the significance of Indian art is somewhat thin in its treatment and is partially a rechauffé of the famous essay of Abanindranath Tagore on the six *Angas* (limbs) of Indian art. The keynote of Hindu art from its very inception has been its intellectuality and asceticism. The Hindu artist always essayed to visualize the spiritual and ideal heritage of his race. The medium or the vehicle of treatment and, even the quality of it was always subordinate to the principal motive of summarizing and expressing the traditional culture of his time. Naturalism was consequently foreign to Hindu art. The characteristic distinction between Indian and Hellenic art consists generally in the degree of emphasis laid on the spiritual aspect of the visible world. While the Greek artist was inspired with the *joie de vivre*, his Indian colleague was concerned with things beyond the fleeting existence of to-day. There was no attempt therefore at faithful representation of what the sense perceived. The artist was more concerned in constructing an armoury of signs and symbols to express his spiritual and emotional attitude of mind towards the object and his meditation. The distinctiveness of Indian art lay therefore in the peculiar outlook of the Indian artist. The full significance of this has still to be brought out in its manifold bearings in the history of Indian art.

Mr. Srinivasam's paper on Indian music of the south may be of use to Europeans unfamiliar with the elements of Indian music. It is far too elementary to be of use even to a moderately educated Indian. What is wanted is not the traditional accounts of the various *Ragas* their origin, uses and effects, but a scientific and artistic analysis of the *Ragas* sung at different times of the day or the year. In other words, a study of the rationale of the traditional prescriptions limiting the use the *Ragas* in time should prove of surpassing interest. Mr. Pillai's paper on Art-crafts of South India describes the technique of the various products of South Indian handicrafts and is hardly of much interest to the general reader. Mr. Brown's lecture on Guild Socialism in its relation to the development of Indian handicrafts is, I am afraid, based on an incomplete and uncritical study of the syndicalist movement in France and elsewhere. The revival of mediæval guilds is not likely to be of much help in resuscitating the handicrafts. Most of the artisan-castes are still guilds of manual workers. They are far too poor, disorganized and ignorant to be able to make much headway in the competitive battle of the modern world. The co-operative movement if properly worked and developed among these people is likely to do far more good than any ill-considered attempt to graft Western innovations on to the Indian environment.

The two illustrations of Tara and of Abhisarika might well have been omitted, for the reproductions are poor and even the originals are hardly the best or characteristic examples of Indian art. The book is interesting reading for a couple of hours' railway journey.

N. C. MEHTA.

PORTFOLIO OF INDIAN ART. OBJECTS SELECTED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, WITH A DESCRIPTIVE TEXT BY A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc., KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMEDAN ART AT THE MUSEUM. 103 COLLOTYPE PLATES, 5 COLOUR PLATES. PRICE £7 7s.

This publication, which makes the rich collection of Indian Art in the Museum of Fine Arts widely known, has a very sad story for India and Indians. The collection originally formed by Dr. Coomaraswamy in 1910, in India, was acquired for the Boston Museum shortly before the war by the generosity of Dr. Denham Ross whose name is rightly associated with the collection and to which his gifts have from time to time made important additions. In the Persian and the Mogul paintings—the collection has been enriched by the famous Goloubew's collection made in Paris. The nucleus of the collection originally made in India, then consisting chiefly of Rajput Paintings (one of the richest and the most representative collection ever put together) and some fine Nepalese metal-pieces went abegging in India for a suitable donation for a special museum to house them, Dr. Coomaraswamy having offered to make a gift of the whole collection if a worthy house was found for their permanent exhibition in the form of a National Museum of Art. To the standing disgrace of Indians, no response was received to the appeal which was issued for raising a subscription, with the result that the collection went to America and found in Boston a permanent home. Somewhat similar fate awaits the well-known Tagore collection, and it seems to be the irony of destiny that within a century or so Indians may have to travel all over the earth to know and understand the best masterpieces of Indian Art. The example set by the Boston Museum is being strenuously followed by other American Museums who are busily acquiring finest examples of Indian Art in all its phases. Of course the Boston Museum collection, after the recent acquisition made in the course of the last 7 years represent the finest collection of Indian Art in all its branches under one roof. The cream of the collection is undoubtedly the magnificent series of Rajput, Pahari, or Kangra paintings which have no parallel in any other part of the world. The Lahore collection in India, very rich in this branch, unfortunately makes a limping second to the Boston collection. Amongst the Rajput paintings, the unequalled series of *Ragini* pictures are of special interest, their dating has given rise to some controversy to which very interesting contribution has been made by Dr. Goetz. The Mogul section

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section though hardly equal to the English collections is very well represented, some individual pieces being of unique interest, e.g., the Portrait of Malik Ambar, of Man Singh, "Darbar of Akbar" and "Embassy to Shah Abbas." The first one is magnificently reproduced in colour in the Portfolio (Plate LXXXIX). Next in importance comes the very representative examples of Southern Indian Bronzes the best of which are the gift of Sir William Beardsell of Madras. Some of the recent acquisitions have made the Pala period very well represented in the collection—the Padmapani (Plate XXIV) being a particularly fine example. The collection is rather poor in Gupta sculpture, though a late specimen, gift of the Government Museum, Madras (Plate XIV) is a piece of unique interest. Very rich is undoubtedly the Cambodian sculptures, with a few very fine Siamese pieces—but they do not compensate for the signal poverty of the Javanese school. Some very interesting representative of the Kushan school adds value to the collection and helps to represent the earliest phases of Indian sculptures; the Bachanalian scene (Plate II) is a very interesting example and certainly superior in artistic quality to similar subjects represented in the Indian collections. The Surya from Mathura (Plate I) is dated by Dr. Coomaraswamy at 1st century A.D. Very few persons are likely to accept this as correct. The defaced and corroded character of the piece can hardly be relied on as the indication of the date—the general simplicity of the treatment is an important factor—but figures in analogous style in Lucknow Museum offer serious difficulty. The dates assigned to some of the Southern Indian Bronzes are also open to question. A discussion of such matters is perhaps reserved for the complete catalogue of the collection which will be awaited with interest. It is not quite clear what uses the Portfolio with its collections of 108 plates after objects selected from the collection is designed to fulfil. There is no doubt that the publication will help to make the collection better known and the beautiful series of collotypes will offer a very useful volume of reference for students. And a word may be said as to the process of reproduction employed—while it suits some of the subjects admirably—it fails to do justice to some others, particularly the Rajput and the Mogul pictures. Connoisseurs would perhaps have liked a better process of reproduction for accurate presentation of the values of the paintings. The descriptive notes added to the plates are quite full without being verbose, and adds references to published literatures excepting one omission viz., references to the various Bulletins of the museums in which some of the examples have been reproduced and studied. A short general introduction could have been an useful addition and enhanced the utility of the publication.

NOTES.

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A NEW INDIAN PORTRAIT PAINTER.—Of all Branches of Painting, that of portrait-painting has performed the most 'useful' function of recording the important personalities of all ages and times. To be able to immortalize individual men and women has been regarded as the "blessed" of all the arts—at least up to the time of the discovery of Photography. And it was at one time supposed that the photographer will snatch the bread of the portrait-painter. But the art of the latter has survived all tests and has held its own against the abominations of the camera-man. In fact the photographer has been led during the last few years to learn the art from the school of the portrait-painter, and we are now flooded with photographs which claim to reproduce a "Van Dyck" or a "Rembrandt effect." The competition of thephotograph has had the effect of weaning the genuine portrait-painter more and more from the standard of a mere likeness of the sitter. The portrait-painter—when he is a real artist—is a picture-maker first, and a producer of likeness afterwards. Indeed the tendency in all high class portraiture has been to sacrifice the likeness to the demands of picture-making. In all the great masterpieces of portrait-painting in the Dutch or the Italian schools nobody can say whether they were accurate likenesses but their qualities as "pictures" have survived all their "uses" as records of the physical features of the sitters. One cannot suggest, of course, that the great portrait-painters —say of the 18th century English school—were indifferent delineators of the physical characters of their subjects. The point is that they do not rank as works of art merely by virtue of their imitative quality. In the best works of Reynolds, Gainsborough or Hoppner there is an element of idealization, an artistic transformation of the actuality of the sitter which is more than a mere interpretation of the character of the model. This idealization has always saved the best masterpieces in portraiture from degenerating into a mechanical photographic record. This idealization does not always mean a deviation from accuracy or meticulous truthfulness of details. Unfortunately

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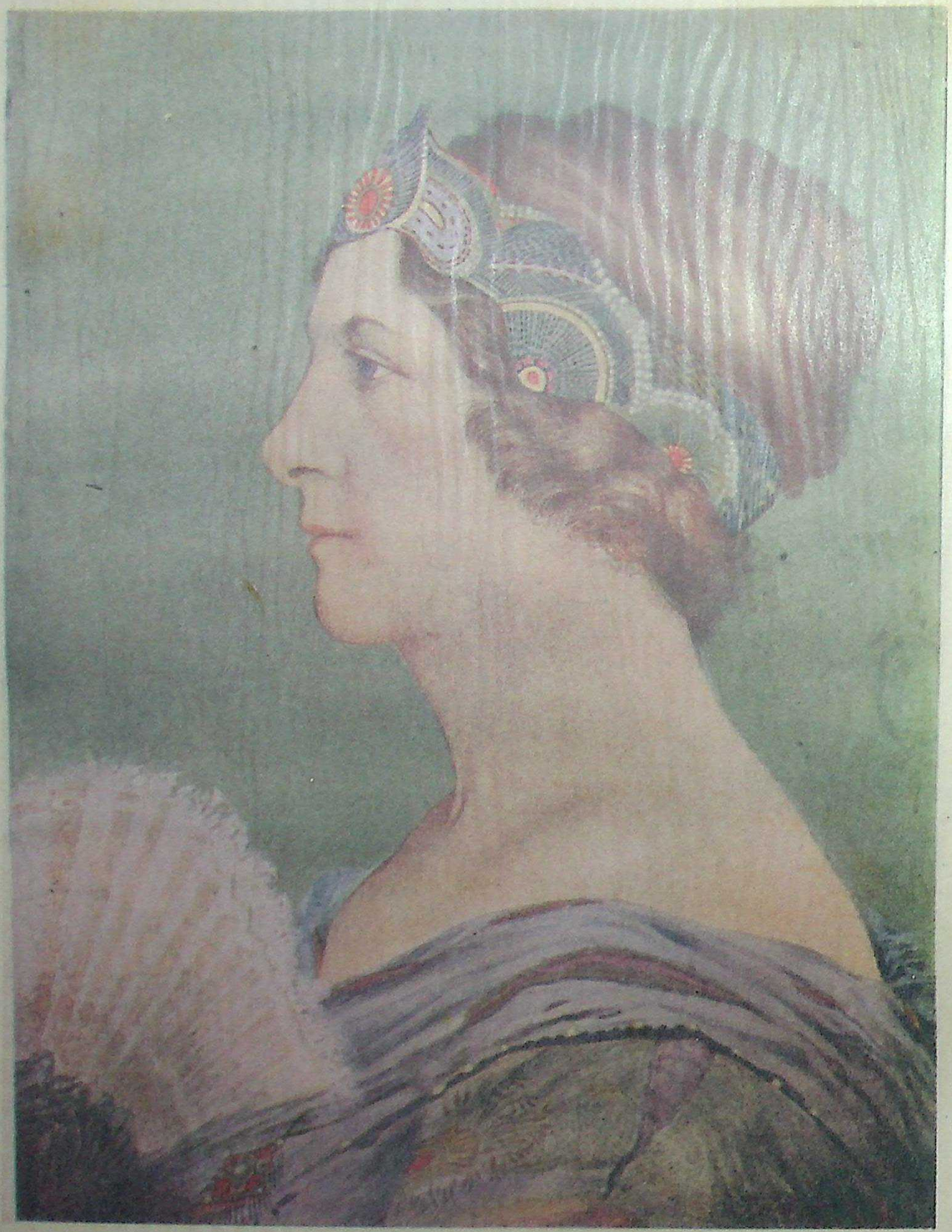

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section though hardly equal to the English collections is very well represented, some individual pieces being of unique interest, e.g., the Portrait of Malik Ambar, of Man Singh, "Darbar of Akbar" and "Embassy to Shah Abbas." The first one is magnificently reproduced in colour in the Portfolio (Plate LXXXIX). Next in importance comes the very representative examples of Southern Indian Bronzes the best of which are the gift of Sir William Beardsell of Madras. Some of the recent acquisitions have made the Pala period very well represented in the collection—the Padmapani (Plate XXIV) being a particularly fine example. The collection is rather poor in Gupta sculpture, though a late specimen, gift of the Government Museum, Madras (Plate XIV) is a piece of unique interest. Very rich is undoubtedly the Cambodian sculptures, with a few very fine Siamese pieces—but they do not compensate for the signal poverty of the Javanese school. Some very interesting representative of the Kushan school adds value to the collection and helps to represent the earliest phases of Indian sculptures; the Bachanalian scene (Plate II) is a very interesting example and certainly superior in artistic quality to similar subjects represented in the Indian collections. The Surya from Mathura (Plate I) is dated by Dr. Coomaraswamy at 1st century A.D. Very few persons are likely to accept this as correct. The defaced and corroded character of the piece can hardly be relied on as the indication of the date—the general simplicity of the treatment is an important factor—but figures in analogous style in Lucknow Museum offer serious difficulty. The dates assigned to some of the Southern Indian Bronzes are also open to question. A discussion of such matters is perhaps reserved for the complete catalogue of the collection which will be awaited with interest. It is not quite clear what uses the Portfolio with its collections of 108 plates after objects selected from the collection is designed to fulfil. There is no doubt that the publication will help to make the collection better known and the beautiful series of collotypes will offer a very useful volume of reference for students. And a word may be said as to the process of reproduction employed—while it suits some of the subjects admirably—it fails to do justice to some others, particularly the Rajput and the Mogul pictures. Connoisseurs would perhaps have liked a better process of reproduction for accurate presentation of the values of the paintings. The descriptive notes added to the plates are quite full without being verbose, and adds references to published literatures excepting one omission viz., references to the various Bulletins of the museums in which some of the examples have been reproduced and studied. A short general introduction could have been an useful addition and enhanced the utility of the publication.

NOTES.

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A NEW INDIAN PORTRAIT PAINTER.—Of all Branches of Painting, that of portrait-painting has performed the most 'useful' function of recording the important personalities of all ages and times. To be able to immortalize individual men and women has been regarded as the "blessed" of all the arts—at least up to the time of the discovery of Photography. And it was at one time supposed that the photographer will snatch the bread of the portrait-painter. But the art of the latter has survived all tests and has held its own against the abominations of the camera-man. In fact the photographer has been led during the last few years to learn the art from the school of the portrait-painter, and we are now flooded with photographs which claim to reproduce a "Van Dyck" or a "Rembrandt effect." The competition of thephotograph has had the effect of weaning the genuine portrait-painter more and more from the standard of a mere likeness of the sitter. The portrait-painter—when he is a real artist—is a picture-maker first, and a producer of likeness afterwards. Indeed the tendency in all high class portraiture has been to sacrifice the likeness to the demands of picture-making. In all the great masterpieces of portrait-painting in the Dutch or the Italian schools nobody can say whether they were accurate likenesses but their qualities as "pictures" have survived all their "uses" as records of the physical features of the sitters. One cannot suggest, of course, that the great portrait-painters —say of the 18th century English school—were indifferent delineators of the physical characters of their subjects. The point is that they do not rank as works of art merely by virtue of their imitative quality. In the best works of Reynolds, Gainsborough or Hoppner there is an element of idealization, an artistic transformation of the actuality of the sitter which is more than a mere interpretation of the character of the model. This idealization has always saved the best masterpieces in portraiture from degenerating into a mechanical photographic record. This idealization does not always mean a deviation from accuracy or meticulous truthfulness of details. Unfortunately

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this element of idealization in the higher class of portrait-painting has always been regarded with suspicion by the uncultured and the vulgar who like to regard anything short of a hard and fast speaking likeness as a "failure" of the portrait-painter. To the school of modern Indian Painting —of the Calcutta school, to whom the imitative accuracy of natural appearances is of no criterion of any value—this idealistic element in portrait-painting makes a special appeal. That an artist has the right to take liberties with the actual features of his models is a creed which many Western artists of modern times are sharing with their old Eastern comrades.

Yet in the charming portrait of Mrs. Percy Brown—(see colour plate opposite)—Mr. D. P. Roychowdhury strikes a golden mean between the accuracy of a speaking likeness and an idealization of the features of his model. His fidelity to his Eastern ideals certainly gave him a latitude which he has not availed himself of in this portrait of singular beauty and decorative quality. It is as reasonable a likeness—as a portrait, which is also a picture, can be required to represent. It is by no means an untruthful presentation of the characteristic features of the sitter. Yet it has pictorial quality of a very high order. The delicately rendered complexion with its subtle pink and yellow tones are silhouetted against a rich emerald green of singular opalescence. Our reproduction unfortunately does not recall all the brilliance and richness of effect in the original and loses much of the delicate gradation—but it is meant to convey a rough idea of the character of the pictorial composition—which can only be enjoyed in the original portrait. It is the habit of a class of portrait-painters to bring in the adventitous aids of furnitures and accessories to lend the atmosphere to the personality of their subjects, but Mr. Chowdhury apparently does not belong to this class. Excepting the bare suggestion of a fan—there is no extraneous help to suggest the individuality of his model. The artist has depended more on his own vision than any extraneous aids of accessories. His neutral back-ground is severely free from any 'outside' suggestion. To quite a different order belongs his portrait of Miss Buckland which we are enabled to reproduce on the opposite page, by the courtesy of Mr. Justice Buckland of the Calcutta High Court. The portrait lends itself so indifferently to a good photographic reproduction that it is difficult to convey to those who have not seen the original the strength and delicacy of this portrait. There is a rigid reticence of colour—the display of which makes the portrait of Mrs. Brown such an easy success. In the portrait of Miss Buckland, almost painted in monotone, the artist's ability is put to the most severe test. If the first portrait is (to borrow a Whisterian phrase), "an arrangement of green, pink and blue," the second portrait is "a colour solo in pale yellow." Its delicate brown tones mingle with the tint of the complexion—without the least manner of exaggeration or understatement. It has a singular charm of attracting the appreciation of strangers unacquainted with the features or personality of the model. We have hardly space in this number to allude to the interesting story how Mr. Chowdhury found himself to be a portrait-painter, which we propose to relate in a subsequent number. The two examples here reproduced will eloquently testify to the high quality of his talent as a portrait-painter. His achievements have certainly put to shade the banalities of the fashionable portrait-painters of Calcutta, who have enjoyed fat commissions to an extent much more than they have ever deserved.

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THE ORIGIN OF INDO-JAVANESE ART.

The paper on "A hypothesis as to the origin of Hindu-Javanese Art" that Dr. Bosch, Chief of the Archæological Service of Java, read at Solo in December 1919, is, in many ways, of unique value for the study of Indian Art. Although primarily dealing with the problems of Indian Art in Java, his paper touches on matters which are of immense significance to Indian art in the main Continent. To us the special value of his study lies in the application which he makes for the first time, of the data furnished by the Silpasâstras on the architectural monuments of Java, with very remarkable results which are likely to offer a new orientation to the study of Indian Art; for this students of Indian Art are heavily indebted to him. In dealing with the problem Dr. Bosch has to devote a large space to collateral matters, e.g., the relation of iconography to sculpture and the essence of the Indian ideas of iconography itself; although many of our readers may complain that a disproportionate space has been given to these matters which are now very familiar to most students of Indian Art, it may be remarked that Dr. Bosch read his paper before an audience to whom these matters, very pertinent to the enquiry, were entirely new. Dr. Bosch presents his hypothesis with such careful reservations and scholarly diffidence, with due regard to the paucity and the limitations of the materials on which he bases his conclusions, that he has gracefully averted criticism from holders of opposite views who are quite many, and who come in for rather drastic treatment in his interesting thesis. The problem that he has attacked with such brilliant arguments may be shortly stated as follows: Who were the actual builders of the wonderful monuments of middle Java—which constitute the best masterpieces of Indo-Javanese Art? Were they executed by full-blooded Hindu Colonists from India or by the genius and the skill of indigenous Javanese artists? Dr. Bosch rightly puts forward an alternative and "more likely" hypothesis, viz: It was not a large colony of Hindu immigrants which undertook the construction of the monuments but it was a relatively small number of Hindu artists who took a lead in the work and that the leading part was taken by the Hindu artists who employed local labourers to carry out the mechanical part of the work, such as hewing, transporting, and piling up of the block of stones. After an

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PORTRAIT OF MISS BUCKLAND
By D. P. Roy Chowdhury
By the courtesy of Mr. Justice Buckland

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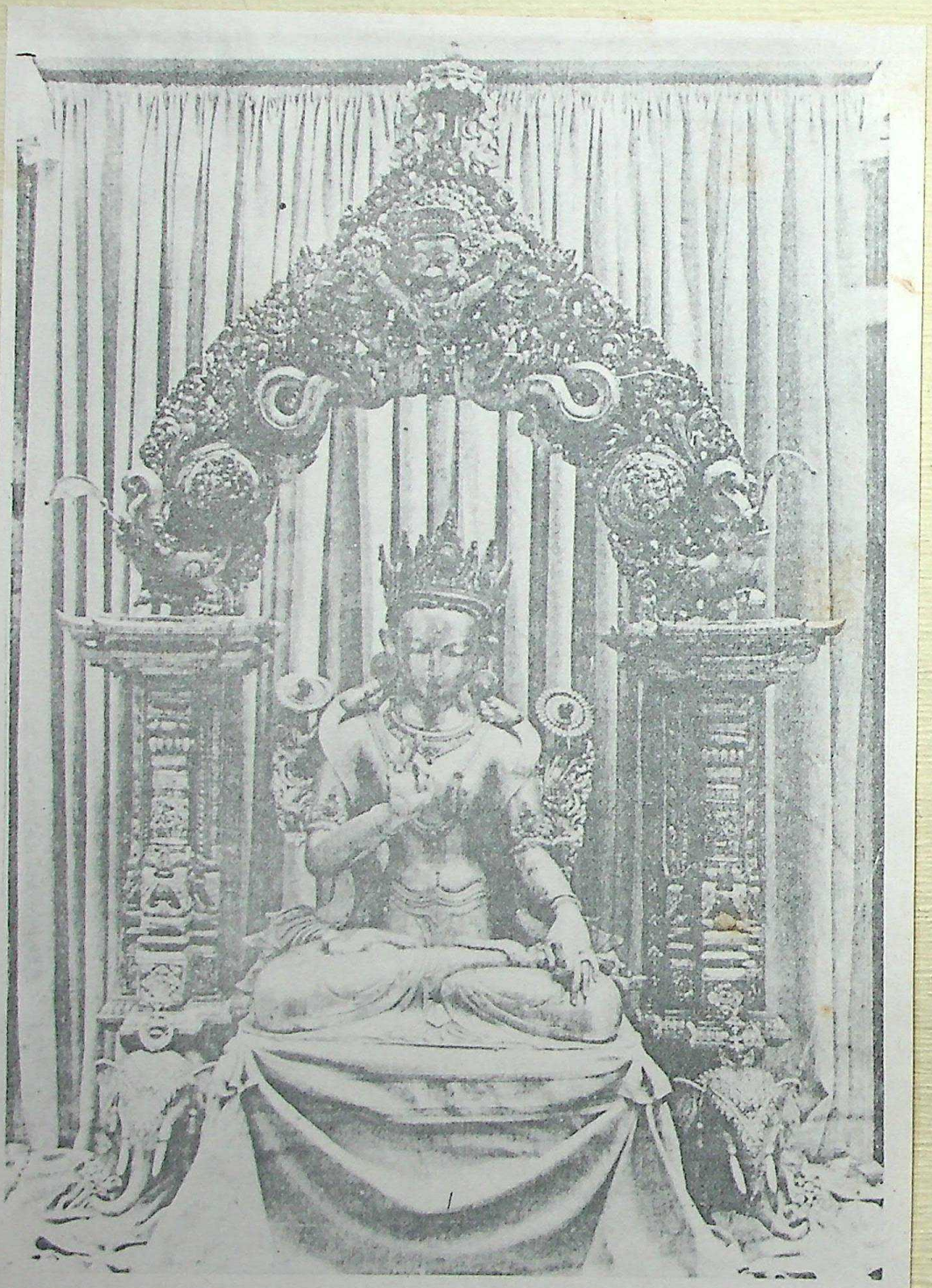

The White Tārā (I. M. 28-1919). *By kind permission of the Indian Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum, South Kensington*

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elaborate examination of the available evidence Dr. Bosch rejects this alternative theory and comes to the conclusion that Art in Java was produced by the Javanese and not by Hindu artists from India, although the influence of Indian Art on Indo-Javanese Art is undeniable. The "influence" according to his analysis dwindles to a mere inspiration and theoretical guidance, so that the credit of raising these unique monuments belong to the Javans who are supposed to have built them by use of their own brains and hands unaided by Indian artists. Although Dr. Bosch does not take into consideration some very material evidences, the evidences that he actually uses are in a way unassailable, though we entirely differ from the conclusions that he seeks to draw from them. Before we proceed to offer our criticism of his hypothesis it will be useful to state how the problem arises. As Dr. Bosch justly points out, to many students there is no question demanding solution, it being complaisantly assumed that who else but the immigrated Hindus could have built the monuments in Java and they must have come in large numbers and "bodily" transported the architecture of their country to the great island colony. But Dr. Bosch points out that having regard to the actual character of the monuments such an assumption is highly untenable and absolutely rash and "foolish." Dr. Bosch although he is very fair to his opponents omits to concede in their favour, that having regard to the general source of the Hindu civilization in Java the rash and foolish theorists have all the probabilities in their favour—probabilities which no doubt have to be considered with due regard to the significance of the convincing evidences. Dr. Bosch ignores the significance of the undisputed facts—that the whole paraphernalia of a civilization with its priests, cults, polities, princes, artists, images, social and religious institutions were conveyed bag and baggage from India to Java. The volume and intensity of that current which poured on its primitive civilization very nearly overran and assimilated the local culture, almost beyond recognition. The impetuosity of the torrent was too powerful to allow any reactions from local and indigenous talent—of howsoever aesthetic merit, which entirely succumbed to the invasion of Hindu culture. The problem, however, does exist and cannot be ignored or dismissed in a perfunctory fashion. We have to face the following facts: (1) Evidences are wanting as to the existence of a large Hindu Colony of artists in Java capable of raising monument on a large scale; (2) Evidences are wanting as to what languages they spoke and what social relations they entered into with the local Javanese races; (3) Evidences are abundant to show that the types of the temples in Java are not exact replicas from Indian prototypes, on the other hand, they display local characteristics of peculiar type for which there are no exact parallels in the Indian continent. To support the "Hindo theory," it is necessary to point out somewhere in the land of the Hindus a "mother art" to which the Javanese art is indebted for its origin. In examining Dr. Bosch's theory we will deal with the latter phase of the problem first. For we contend that there is evidence, epigraphical, if not archæological, which points unquestionably to the first prototype of an Indian temple having been slavishly reproduced on the soil of Java. Sufficient researches have not yet been directed to the elucidation of the question raised in the three inscriptions of unique relevance to this problem, viz., that of King Sanjaya of 654 Saka, that of Dinaja of 682 Saka, and that of Perang of 785 Saka. The first distinctly refers to a sanctuary carefully modelled from a prototype of sacred memory, situated somewhere in the 'South of India.' As we propose to deal with this phase of the evidence in a later article we no not emphasize on its full significance at this stage. We only wish to point out that Dr. Bosch has ignored the value of this evidence, whatever may be its merits in his eyes. We admit this is not a tangible archæological evidence to show what kind of temple was first erected in the South of Kedoe following the model of the Indian prototype. These epigraphical records greatly heighten the value of probabilities—which Dr. Bosch does not consider. We shall show that the net result of his other evidences make the probabilities against his hypothesis of a very formidable character. With the true instinct and boldness of a scholar Dr. Bosch faces the most damaging evidences against his hypothesis at the very outset. He begins by admitting that there are no local Javanese monuments, previous to the Hindu "invasion" which could testify to their building ability or their æsthetic capacity. He postulates vaguely, their potentiality for artistic performances of a high order, arguing from their genius in decorative spheres. He omits, however, to emphasize on the great beauty of Polynesian Art to which the Pre-Hindu Art of Java must have been related. The other damaging admission, for which he deserves our respect, is that stone construction is not indigenous to Java and that the Javanese may be taken to have been hostile towards stone constructions. These are very serious objections to his thesis that under the direction of the Hindu Kings—they suddenly developed a liking and a genius for stone constructions which culminated in the Borobodur. To these fatal evidences which add to the weight of the feasibility of the other theory, Dr. Bosch adds another in his conclusion, that prescriptions of the silpaśâstras—either Mânasâra or some other kindred texts—were followed by the builders of Javanese temples and sculptors and the points of agreements with the published texts at present available with the elements of Javanese monuments "are so numerous and convincing that we do not hesitate to answer the question, whether in Java written canons of art were known and applied, in the affirmative without reserve." Dr. Bosch cannot therefore claim that the Javanese evolved a system of architecture of their own. No body can deny on a comparison of Indian temples and Javanese Tjandis, that underlying both

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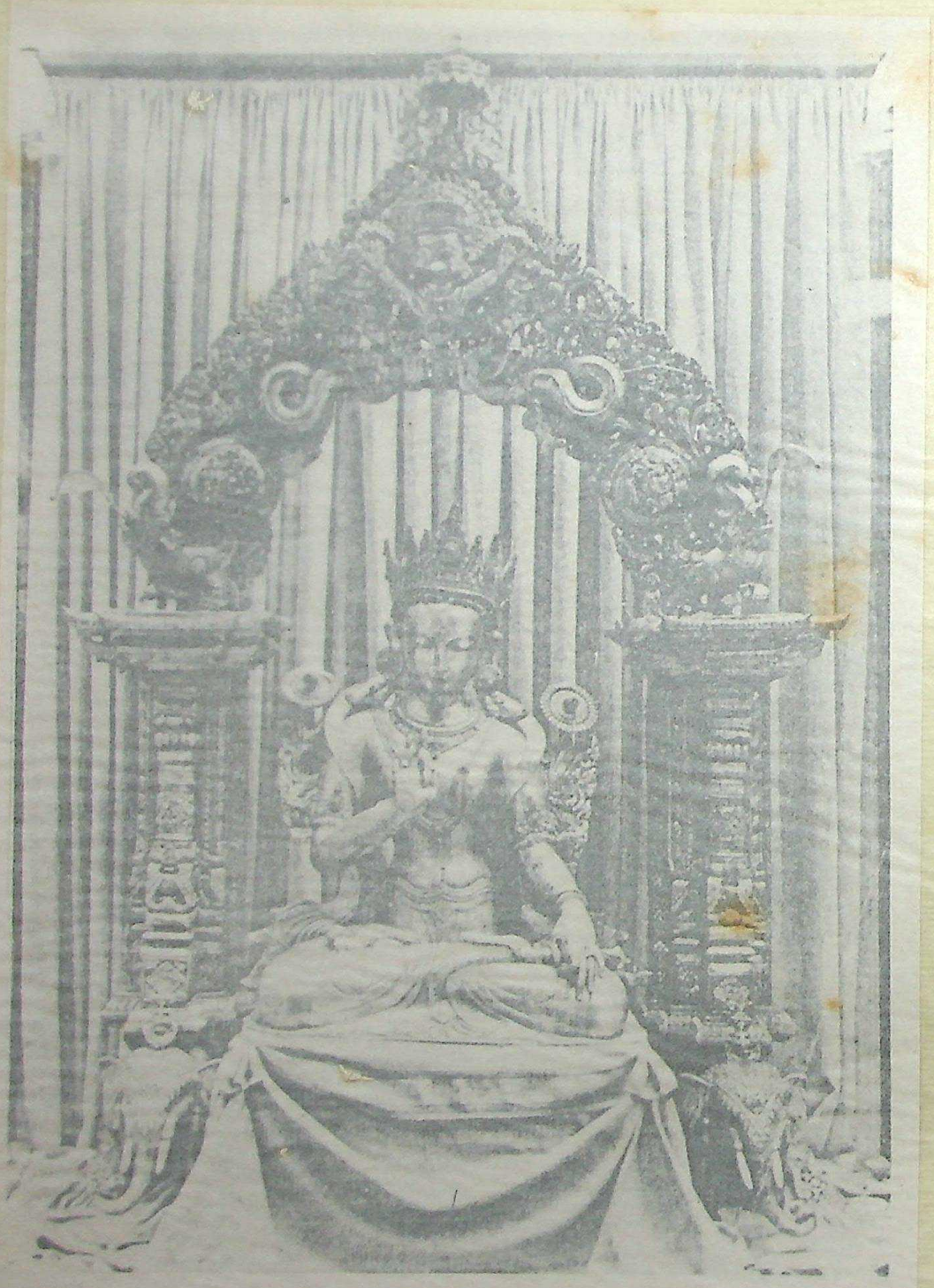

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types of monuments the conception is the same. Dr. Bosch's difficulty is that the Mânasâra is not illustrated in all its minute details in the Javanese Monuments and the silhouette, the configuration, or the *ensemble* of a typical Javanese temple does not reproduce the Indian model—with anything like accuracy; there are serious divergences in many details of construction as of ornaments. By a careful investigation of the proportions of the elements of Javanese temples—the Upapîtha, Adhisthâna, the Stambhas—Dr. Bosch admits that the Javanese types conformed in all essentials to the fundamental conceptions of the Silpasâstra traditions. The artists in Java did not choose a new path or devise a new system—but were in some sense "more orthodox" than the artists in the Indian continent. Dr. Bosch's difficulty arises, in our opinion, from a wholly fallacious assumption that he makes at the outset, viz., that if immigrant Hindus were the builders of Javanese monuments they would have reproduced in Java, in actual replicas or copies, the types of Indian temples in all their details. With great respect to the learned archæologist—we contend that he has wholly misread the significance of the functions of the Silpasâstras. The Mânasâra (and other works of architecture not examined by Dr. Bosch) nowhere prescribe the full fledged form of an Indian temple to be slavishly repeated and reproduced *ad nauseam*. The Silpasâstras embody a convenient handbook or dictionary for the traditional vocabulary borrowed from the practices of creative artists—a vocabulary rich in its motifs and constantly added to from time to time from actual practice. This vocabulary represented the current practices and offered very convenient phraseology for individual craftsmen or school of artists to spell out, according to special needs or circumstances or individual taste and inclination, entirely new "sentences" and "essays" in architectural composition. The floating vocabularies of current architectural expressions have been too much regarded as immutable canons. The canons undoubtedly came into operation in the design and the facing of the temple—its setting, and general plan. If we recognize the true character of the architectural vocabulary we can at once perceive that artists at different places, and under different conditions, have used current "words" in new combinations and in novel rhetorics. We have tried to demonstrate this, we claim successfully, in examining M. Parmentier's conclusion that the architecture of Champa was an independent development unaided by Indian architectural practices (*vide* article "Art of Champa" Rupam Nos. 15 & 16 pages 41—48). Of course Dr. Bosch's claim is of not such extravagance as that of M. Parmentier. Dr. Bosch's claim is much more moderate. He hypothesizes that the local Javanese artists taking their lessons from and adopting the system of the Silpasâstra tradition in all their essentials evolved a new type of temple in Java—which do not resemble the Indian examples in their characteristic features. As we have suggested, Dr. Bosch unduly emphasizes the so-called differences. He cannot point out a single feature of the essential elements which could be said to be the original device of the so-called Javanese artists. If we had sufficient space here, we could show that every single detail, with a few exceptions occurring here and there, in Javanese Tjandis, is borrowed from Indian practices. They are, in fact, derived from the rich vocabulary of a common architectural language developed by a long practice and continued in the tradition of the Silpasâstras. One substantial criticism we can offer is the fact that there is no evidence that the local Javanese architects or sculptors ever came to India to study the actual examples of Indian architecture and sculptures. It is impossible to explain how they could repeat and use forms, both decorative and sculptural in many cases identical with and in some cases derived from earlier precedents in the Indian soil. This would have been impossible if the artists had nothing but the written texts to work upon. The examples of Indo-Javanese Art could not be the work of artists other than those who had actual familiarity with the Indian monuments on the Indian soil. Dr. Bosch does not claim that the indigenous Javanese genius had acquired this familiarity with actual Indian precedents. The most fundamental point of Dr. Bosch's theory that the "face" of the Javanese temple does not directly recall the Indian—is easily met in the history of temple-architecture in India itself. The Orissan, the Northern or the Indo-Aryan, the Chalukyan and the Chola temples have each their own divergent "faces" and "physiognomies"—yet they belong to one single family of architectural ancestory related to one another in blood through the traditions of the Silpasâstras. The divergent "faces" and "physiognomies" of temples in Cambodia, Champa and Java do not necessarily import an independent development—they are the new phases of the same architectural history and must have been pictured by the hands of the same artists or their descendants who merely carried and developed the tradition under new conditions. Sometimes it is somewhat difficult to recognize, in a new form composed out of a well established vocabulary and language of architectural expression, the consanguinity with the earlier models. There was nothing in the injunctions of the Silpasâstras which enjoyed a slavish repetition of the design of the "face" or "silhouette" of the temple—though in particular periods, or in particular places, they have assumed special types. When the words, the phraseology, the decorative rhetoric and the other elements of the vocabulary are there—their new combinations do not banish them from the family of their authorship. Dr. Bosch will be still entitled to urge—though he does not put it forth in his thesis, that the special form and design of the Borobodur temple is so peculiar and unprecedented and so unrelated to Indian models that it could not have come out of the head of the Indian artists and his traditions and set patterns. Dr. William Cohn has happily cited a Burmese temple, the Mangalcheti

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Pagoda in Pagan (*vide* Illustration 6 in his article: "Indische Kolonial Kunst" *Cicerone*, March 1923) which is perilously near the general scheme of the Borobodur. It is certainly the grandfather if not the immediate ancestor of the famous Javanese stupa. We do not suggest that the one is the direct ancestor of the other. Both of them must have been derived from some common ancestor. In a note to his Dutch article Dr. Bosch himself suggests that "the plans for the construction of Borobodur must have originated and must have been sanctioned in the Holy Land of the Buddhists in India, if the building was to bear fruit for the benefit of the founder as well as of the devout. There is no wisdom outside India!" We have here at least one indication that the models of some of the Javanese temples must have come from outside Java. Dr. Bosch, while he concedes that the local Javanese artists, after being initiated into the traditions of Indian architectural practices, began to build their first temples on the Dieng Plateau, he carefully avoids committing himself to any supposition that any practising Hindu artists, well versed in the silpashâstras came from India to teach them. "We readily recognize the Hindus (not necessarily practising artist?) as the bringers, propagators and interpreters of the technical texts. But with this their activity in the realm of the art in Java came to an end. It was left to others *to hear* their precepts" (not to profit by any *actual* demonstration or illustration of the texts by an Indian artist) "and to proceed to creations and to deeds." Here Dr. Bosch places himself in a very absurd position. It is against all possibilities to suggest that the Javanese without any shade of architectural history, and without any preliminary practical guidance, straightway proceeded from the "letters" of the text of the sipashâstras to interpret them in graphic forms of architecture in a medium never known to them. Here his own linguistic argument is a fatal objection. It is impossible to suppose that the texts of the silpashâstras—all in sanskrit—were immediately mastered by the Javanese genius who proceeded to translate and reduce the theories of the sanskrit texts into plastic stones. Who were the persons who interpreted the texts to them? Not the Brahmin priests—for they had no working or practical knowledge, although they might have a hand in preserving or systematising the texts. There is no escape from the conclusion that practising Hindu architects from India, with texts in one hand and centuries of practical experience in the other, must have come from India to accompany the priests, and their religious cults. Dr. Bosch argues that if they came at all (he is very reluctant to admit this—his "interpreters of the texts" do not seem to be practical artists)—they must have come in very small numbers—for Dr. Bosch assumes on no manner of evidence that "the number of first-rate Hindu artists must have been small" and regards it quite impossible that a large colony of craftsmen (*sthapathy*) could have come to Java. *A priori* there is nothing impossible in this assumption... If we may quote one example, when Arnico, the Nepalese artist was commissioned by the Tibetan King to execute a stupa in Tibet, he imported from Nepal as many as 200 craftsmen to help him to carry out his commission. Dr. Bosch's hypothesis comes to this that the Javanese artists on the basis of the texts of the silpashâstras executed masterpieces of temple architecture without any aid or guidance from the Indian *silpis*—for he is not prepared to ascribe any rôle to the practical Indian artist from India. This reduces his arguments to an absurdity. On his own evidences his hypothesis stands self condemned. We are not competent to offer criticism of his objection that the existence of a large Hindu colony of craftsmen or labourers would have left evidences of their language in Java. We should like to call his attention to Dr. Kern's article on 'Dravidian Folknames of Sumatra' (Kern: "Dravidische Volksnamen op Sumatara" Bijdragen tot de Taal. Land-en Volkenkunde van Ned-Indie 7e, D1. 55, 1903). Dr. Kern shows not only that there was a large colony of Tamil workers settled in Sumatra, but that also in Java the Hindu noblemen employed such labourers and workmen imported from India and other places. But it is not necessary to unduly emphasize the suggestions made by Dr. Kern. Another very important consideration arises out of a proper apprehension of the relation of the colonial culture in Indonesia to the mother country. It is usual to regard the history of Indonesia as a detached, an isolated, and an unrelated "sequel" to the "history" of the continental culture. It is too often forgotten—that the branches overseas were the very continuation and an organic development of the main trunk in the Indian soil. There has been constant, vital and organic intercourse between Indonesian kingdoms and their sources in India. Of this fact evidences though meagre are not entirely wanting. The colonists have constantly replenished all the forms of their cultural resources from the original fountain-head. It is when this intercourse with the sources of inspiration ceased that the whole fabric of the colonial civilization collapsed. It is well known how the story of the Hindu civilization in Java comes to a precipitate and a dramatic termination.

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THE WHITE TARA.—On the plate opposite we reproduce a fine example of the White Tārā or Savioress (Sanskrit: "Sita-tārā) of the Nepalese school from the collection of the South Kensington Museum, London... It is one of the most popular female deities of the Mahayanist pantheon, being the shakti or consort of Avolokiteswara. The white form of Tārā is believed to have been incarnate in the Chinese wife of the Buddhist King Srong-rsangampo, who was of white complexion according to the current accounts, but was probably painted following the Chinese custom. The White Tārā is distinguished from the Green Tārā

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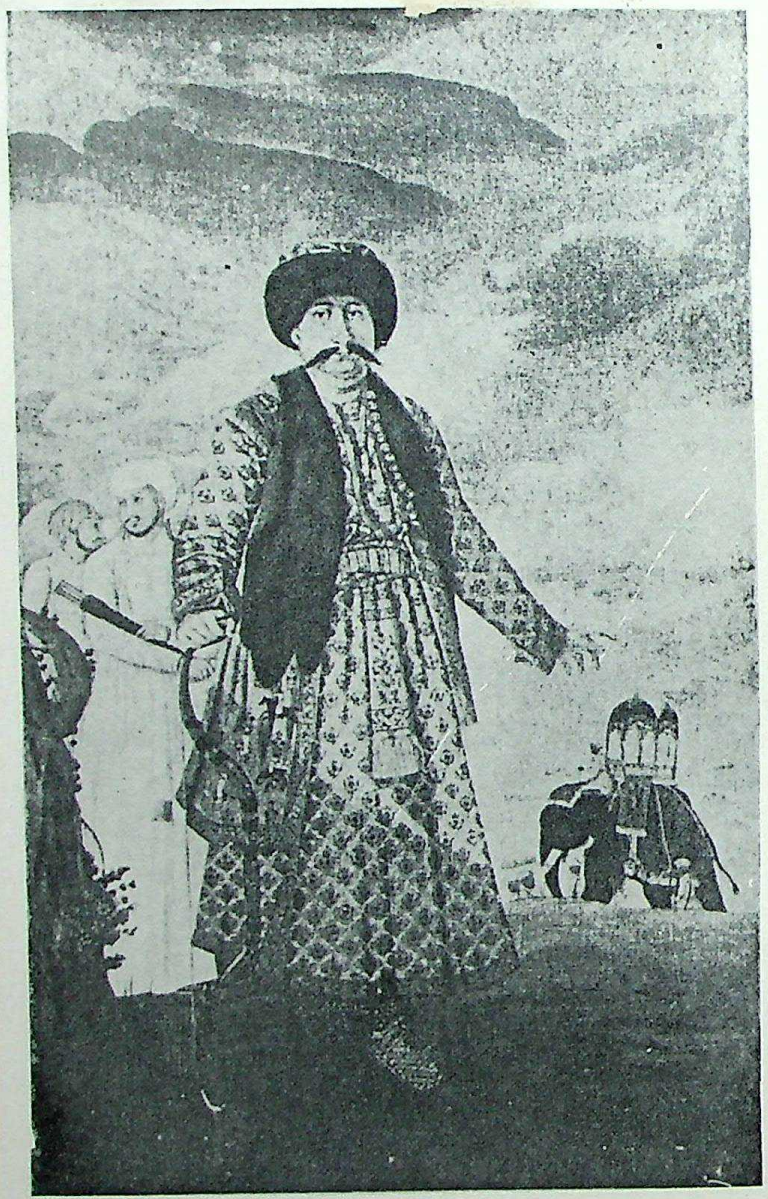
(Syamatārā) who is supposed to have been incarnate in the Nepalese wife of the Tibetan King, being the daughter of the Newar King Amsu Varman. The symbol of the White Tārā is the open lotus, that of the Green Tārā being the closed lotus, the two together symbolizing day and night. The Tārā is generally represented with all the decorations and ornaments of a Bodhisattva. Her hand is in the Vitarka mudrā (the posture of discourse). The example, here reproduced, is a typical one of the best manner of the Nepalese school of copper-gilt sculptures, of which the finest specimens can be studied in the collection of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. They date generally between the 16th and 17th century, very fine work having been produced as late as the 18th and 19th centuries. Examples of this school are very often confused with works of the Tibetan school which was really an offshoot or a derivative of the main stem from Nepal. In the present example, apart from the indication of the style, the elaborate wooden ornament at the back, of typical newari work, furnishes an infallible data of its provenance. The characteristic arch of the *makara torana* culminating in a lively garuda with its *chattra* and its pairs of serpents offer a study by itself. The garuda—generally with Vishnu, has no particular symbolism in the example, and is an evitable element in a very common type of decorative arch often given to Nepalese images. The Nepalese school is of great importance in the history of Indian art, as it upholds and continues the tradition of the best quality of Indian sculpture at a time when Indian art on Indian soil itself was in a declining stage.



Portrait of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah By Meherchand
Museum of Ethnology, Berlin.

TWO INDIAN MINIATURES.—On the plate opposite we reproduce two very interesting miniatures, one representing 'A Harem Scene' from the collection of Major Sutton, and the other the 'Varsâ-Vihâra' of Radha and Krishna from the collection of Messrs. L. Chaundy of Oxford, Ltd. they are related to one another in one sense and yet in their subject matter and treatment they are poles apart. Major Sutton calls the first picture a 'Rajput Harem scene.' It is not Rajput in its subject, but Mogul or Mahommedan, for the seated princess attended with musicians, and smoking from her *Gurguri* cannot be a Rajput. Yet there is a flavour in the decorative design and in the types of the ladies collecting wall-nuts, which is akin to that of a Rajput miniature. This is a Mogul drawing with Rajput influence. The architecture is Mogul rather than of Rajputana. The other miniature offers a very significant contrast in its heiratic and mystical treatment to the charming presentation of a secular scene in the first picture. As Major Sutton suggests—it is "a typical semi-religious drawing"—symbolizing the mystic love-tryst of Love and Krishna in an idealized atmosphere with the trees "starred" with fruits, and the clouds inscribed with the curves of lightning. The rains cut off the lover from the outside world and, under the pretext of the covering of the black cloak, draw two kindred souls in closer embrace. The pair of cows approach the mystic union of "the dalliance of the Rains" with a tribute of wonder and admiration. The example itself is a rather crude version of a very popular theme with Rajput painters, of which the best example is reproduced in Coomaraswamy's "Rajput Painting." Plate....

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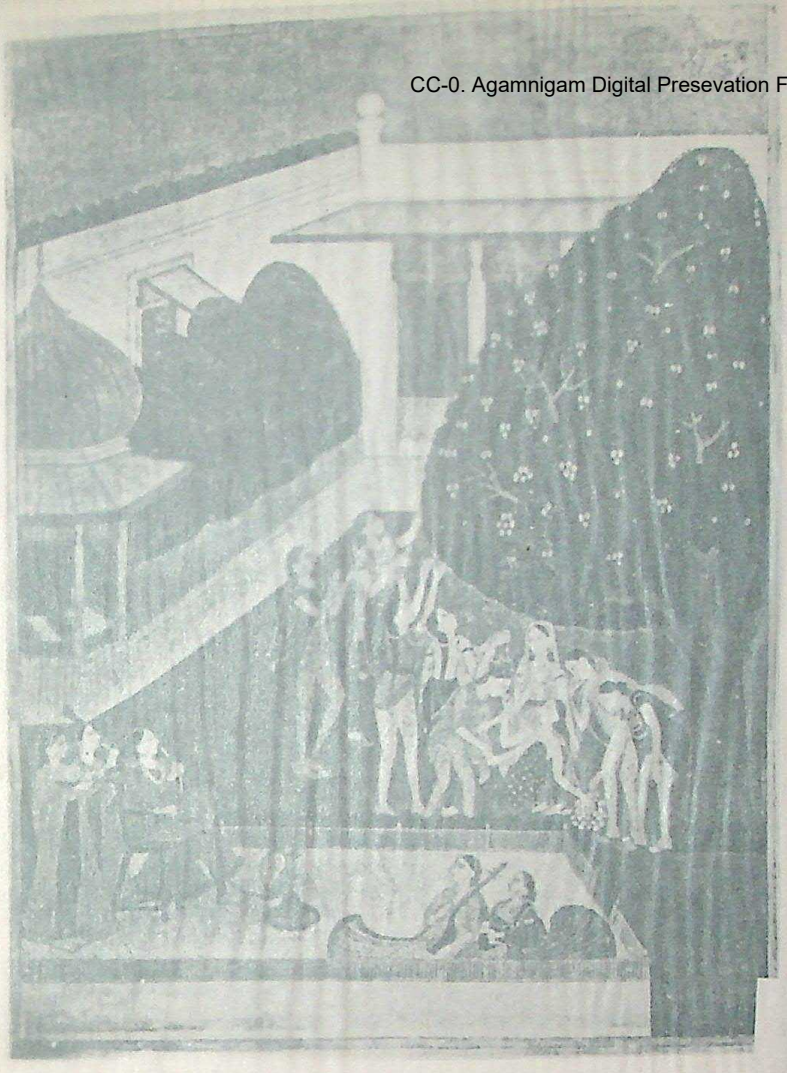

A HAREM SCENE [Rajput miniature, Jaipur School.]
Collection Major T. Sutton.

VARSA VIHARA [Rajput miniature, Kangra School.]
Collection Messrs. L. Chaundy of Oxford Ld.

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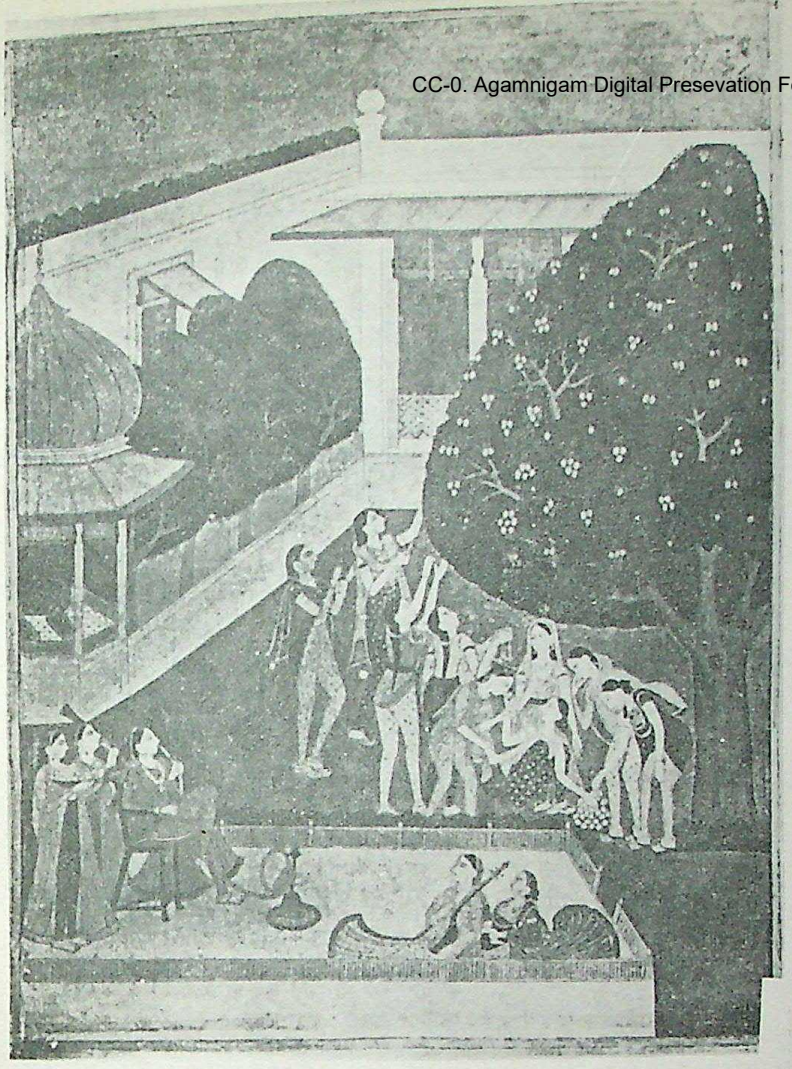

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BODHISATTVA.
From Gandhara by the courtesy of the Pennsylvania Museum.

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Our acknowledgments are due to the Editor of *The Beacon* for the loan of the blocks for these two illustrations. The size of each of the two pictures is 15 inches by 11 inches.

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A NEW EXAMPLE OF GANDHARA BODHISATTVA.—Of all schools of sculptures that have flourished in India, none has survived with such greater abundance or prolific variety as the examples of the Gandhara school, at one time regarded by archæologists as the supreme representative of Indian Art. The examples discovered in various parts of the Punjab and the Frontier provinces appeared to have been exhaustive of the various types and subjects. But now and then a new specimen crops up which is not represented in the earlier finds. The example reproduced on the opposite page by the courtesy of the Curator of the Pennsylvania Museum to which the piece belongs, offers many interesting features. The most striking feature is the expression of the face which is of singular dignity and graciousness very rare in the average run of Gandhara images. The Indian and the Hellenistic ideas appear to mingle in a singularly happy union, unattained in any known example. The diadem (Usnisa-bhusana) with lotus bosses is also of a peculiar type not commonly met with in the images of this class. It is obviously a Bodhisattva.

Portrait of Bahadur Shah
By the courtesy of Messrs Luzac & Co

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MIR CHAND, A LATE MOGUL PAINTER.—Dr. Ernest Kuhnel, author of "Miniature Painting in the Islamic Orient" has recovered from the archives of the Indian section of the Folklore Museum (Volker Museum) of Berlin a series of miniatures and specimens of calligraphy all signed by a hitherto unknown artist named Mir Chand, son of Gangaram. In the bulletin of the "Berliner Museum" (heft 11|12, November and December, 1922). Dr. Kuhnel describes his finds which form a part of the Hamilton Albums and illustrates six of the pictures. Although many of the miniatures of the Mogul school are signed, it is rare to come across as many as two dozen authenticated works from the brush of the same artist. The subjects treated are of great variety, one being a 'Siva puja' scene, one Krishna on Garuda, a Holi Festival, and four portraits, out of which one is Shah Alum (1759-1806) and two of Shoja-ud-dowla, the Nawab of Oudh (1756-75). One artist therefore belonged to the latter part of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th. It is only by courtesy that he could be called a "Mogul" painter. Indeed if we take the quality of his drawings there is hardly anything characteristically "Mogul" about it. He has left far behind him the elegance, the taste, and the romantic idealism of the Mogul miniatures. The portrait of Shoja-ud-dowla which we are able to reproduce here by the courtesy of Dr. Kuhnel is a frank copy of European manners. It is in fact a copy of an European oil-painting in which we vainly seek the peculiar flavour, the daintiness or the delicacy of a Mogul portrait. Dr. Kuhnel remarks on this portrait: "The entire interpretation of this portrait, posture, face, view and other details, also the sky and the landscape, clearly show European influence even though we may not be able to trace a direct model." This we are afraid is an understatement. It is in fact a slavish copy of a painting by some European artist, many of whom were

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commissioned to paint portraits of the Oudh Nawabs. "The Female figure in lying posture" which Dr. Kuhnel reproduces with his article—echoing the familiar Venus motif of Titian—is undoubtedly a copy from some European pictures, many of which found their way to India since Jahangir's time. During the 18th century the "Frankish" painters must have been numerous. There is no doubt that the works of these European painters aroused the curiosity of the Indian Court-painters, many of whom surrendered their indigenous style—under the snares of European pictoralism. Mir Chand must be taken to be typical of the class of Indian artists—who preferred to adopt the European manners. At any rate these signed miniatures by this newly discovered artist will offer useful data in fixing the chronology of the late Mogul miniatures, as Dr. Kuhnel rightly points out "hitherto the main difficulty was that owing to certain analogies one was again and again misled into placing late miniatures too early."

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A PORTRAIT OF BAHADUR SHAH (?).—From the collection of Messrs. Luzac & Co., we have here borrowed a late portrait of the real Mogul style—if only as an illustrative example to compare the respective merits of a portrait in the European and in the Mogul manner. It has none of the superior craftsmanship of an early Mogul portrait—yet it carries the general characteristics of the school—the bold and generalized outline of the Mogul brush—in somewhat diluted form. The lines have yet a charm in their strength and simplicity which we shall vainly seek in the somewhat confusing and cumbrous machinery of the European technique in Mir Chand's portrait. The portrait of Shah Alam has not the realism of the atmosphere of portrait of the Nawab of Oudh—yet it has an atmosphere of its own, rendered in terms of its own convention which lends such exquisite relief and emphasis to the portrait which is very far from the clumsy realism of Mir Chand's spurious and sophisticated manners. It is doubtful if the portrait should be correctly identified as that of Bahadur Shah. The resemblance is more to that of Akbar and the style of the turban and dress can hardly be taken to be of the time of Bahadur Shah.

THE INDIA SOCIETY.—The Earl of Ronaldshay presided at the opening meeting of the India Society season. The occasion was the lecture by Monsieur Hackin, the new director of the Musée Guimet in Paris, on 'Indian Art in Tibet and Central Asia.' This is the last of a series of lectures under the auspices of the India Society designed to show the extent of influence exerted by India on the art of the other countries of Asia. Previous papers dealt with the Near East (Prof. Strzygowski), Java (Dr. Vogel, late of the Indian Archæological Survey), Indo-China (Mr. Victor Goloubeff, of the French School of the Extreme Orient), and Japan (Mr. Viszer, of the Dutch Society of Friends of Far Eastern Art). All these lectures are being collected in book form with illustrations, and will be issued free to members.

Monsieur Hackin explained that, as far as Tibet was concerned, Indian culture was spread chiefly by the necromancer Padmasambhava, who was summoned by the successor of Sronbtsan-sgam-po in the seventh century. Thanks to some magnificent slides that he had brought from Paris, the lecturer was able to show the gradual spread of Indian ideals, until, in a comparatively recent time, this became supplanted by Chinese influences. The connection between Turkestan and India in Greco-Buddhist art was very closely established, thanks to the excavations made on the site of the ruined city of Taxila by Sir John Marshall.

In his inaugural address the Earl of Ronaldshay said that the position occupied by the art of India in the art-history of Asia was a very different one from that which most Western critics would have disposed to assign to it not very many years ago. It was indeed only in recent times that the West had acquired any real understanding of the peculiar genius of Indian art, and realized its greatness.

In the course of the evening it was announced that Sir Hercules Read, the President of the India Society, had been elected one of its Honorary Vice-Presidents by the Association Francaise des Amis de l'Orient, that being the Society in Paris with which the India Society has a working arrangement, including exchange of membership facilities.

The new volume of the India Society, which will be issued shortly, is entitled 'Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum': twelve collotype plates selected by Laurence Binyon, introduction by William Rothenstein, and foreword by Sir Hercules Read.

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I.—NOTES ON SOME PERSIAN MINIATURES.

By THE EDITOR.

PERSIAN Painting is not the expression of Islamic culture, but of the culture of the Islamic people. While Musalman architecture evolves out of the demands of Islamic worship, the art of painting is entirely separate from the religion of Mahomet. The faithful's adoration of the sacred literature does not demand more than a few pages of *nastaliq* in gold from the calligrapher, or a couple of *unwans* from the illuminator. As an eminent critic has observed : "Islam has tolerated rather than inspired its painter." The believer is not inspired by, nor inspires, the brush of the pictorial artist. Even the skill of the weaver or the rude mechanisms of his loom may be said to be devoted to the service of "Allah," not in the sense of a personal God, but as an aid to the forms of the worship enjoined by the religion of Islam. For the prayer-carpet, whether in the city, or in the desert, is in some way connected with religion and the peculiar forms of Islamic worship. The builder of the Mosque, the weaver of the Carpet, or the binder or illuminator of the Holy Koran may be said to work under the sway of some religious emotion. But one seeks in vain for a religious motive in the brush of the pictorial artist, in the world of Islam. The dogma of the Unity of God and the inevitable injunction against images and representation of animate life set one's face against any form of polytheism, or nature-worship. The early Arabic culture, nomadic and anarchic, and strictly adherent to Islamic dogma, had very few opportunities for plastic expression. The dwellers of the tents, or the travellers in the desert, [illegible] for a mosque, a palace, or an [illegible]ated page. The prayer-rug was all that nomadic Islam could carry on its camel. When the gallop of its horse conquers Spain, Egypt, or India, ponderous domes, stately cupolas, and cylindrical minarets rear their heads. Where Islam is not its own builder, its dreams bring to life the plastic genius of the vanquished people. The builders of the Coptic churches, the *Sthapathis* of the Hindu temples, are soon pressed into service, and forms of architecture are evolved which have the very spirit and essence of Islamic thought. In all forms of Mahomedan architecture the burden of the message is the same, the subtle suggestion of one all-pervading spirit, the "presence of a terrible infinite", that is impossible to seize in the useless device of any concrete form. The lines of Moslem architecture are not rooted in any iconic or anthropomorphic thoughts. The forbidding of natural forms drives the artist to a language of geometrical shapes, an intricate vocabulary of circles, ovals, squares, and rectangles. In the ascetic devotion to geometric forms, rendered in infinite permutation and combinations, the genius of the Musalman tarried long on the walls of Allahambra and on the facades of Cairo. But the incorrigible passion of the Artist for naturalistic images now and then crops up, as in the panels of the Mosque of the Aljaferia. Under the camouflage of a geometric pattern, the artist traces, here, the suggestion of a tree twisted into conventional forms. The dogma of religion gradually releases the freedom of the artist. And in the coloured meadows of Islamic Persia and in contact with Chinese Painting, the Moslem artist relaxes his orthodoxy to render tribute to natural forms and to represent animate forms in glowing colours and romantic shapes. The long divorce from the forms of natural life, perhaps disqualify alike his vision and his brush from tracing too accurate a likeness in the realistic sense. The rendering of flowers and trees as of human and animal life, take a fanciful, yet a richly animated, conventional language, which is at once the glory and the weakness of Persian Painting. The tradition of Moslem Painting go several centuries earlier than the

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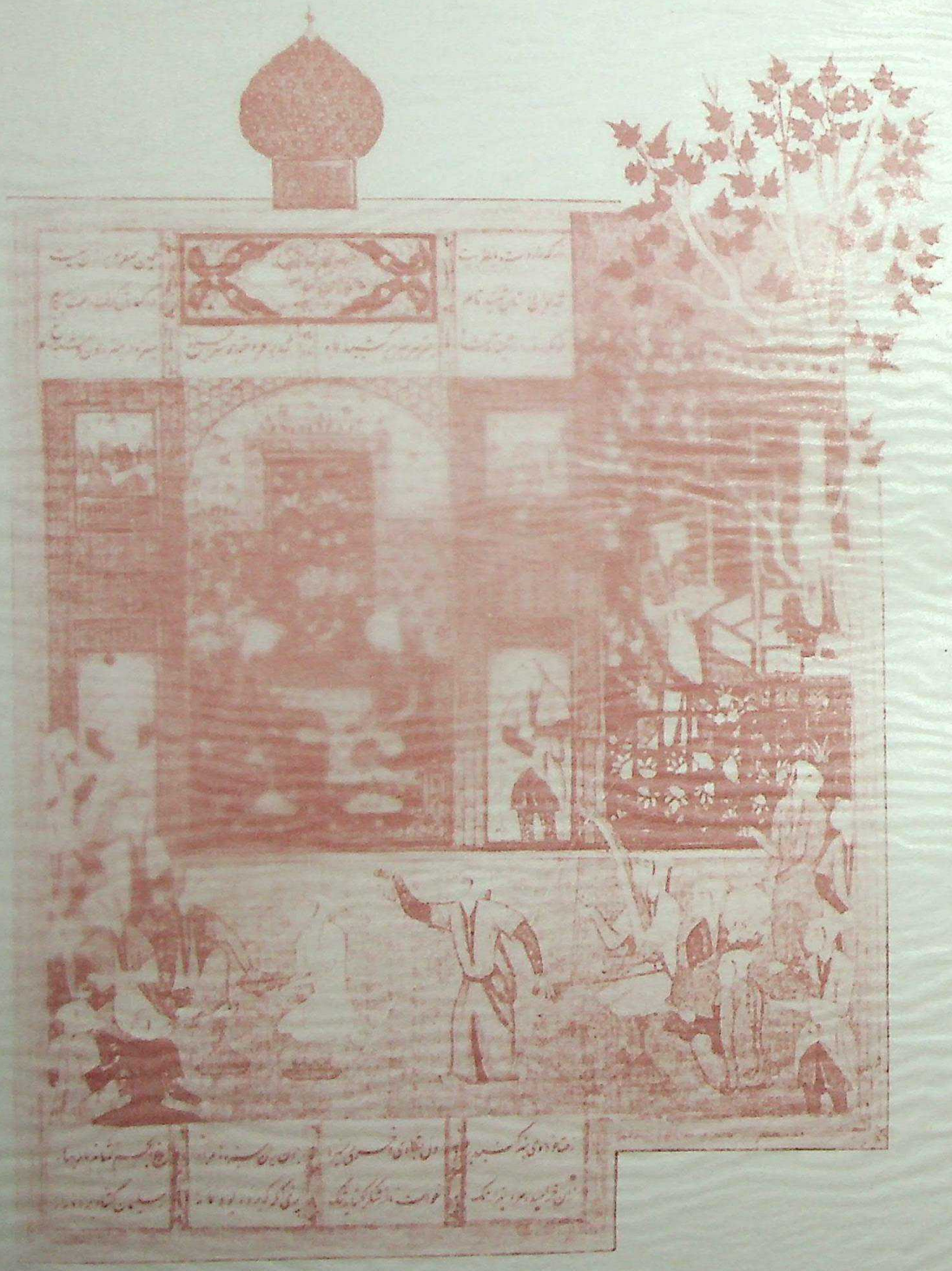

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pictorial influence of China and Mongolia. In Mesopotamia and also in Arabia itself, an art of book-illustration had flourished from the twelfth century and earlier, but it was not until after the Mongol invasion of 1258 that the finest blossoms of Persian Painting begin to flower. The influences from the Far East which the Mongol culture brought, fertilised the crafts of pictorial art of Persia. After a few years of preparation the national school burst forth in the glorious works of Bihzad who was attached to the Court of Hussein Mirza at Herat, then the capital of Khorasan. Bihzad had a worthy disciple in Miraq, a native of Ispahan who afterwards settled in Tabriz. The lamp of Persian Painting continued to shine in the exquisite art of Sultan Mahmud, another pupil of Bihzad, who was born in 1500 and won special celebrity in the reign of the second Safavid King. But we need no elaborate lessons from the History of Persian Painting, to enjoy the beauty of the fine example of the school of Sultan Mahmud which we reproduce in the Frontispiece. It belongs to the collection of Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, who have courteously allowed us to reproduce the same. It is an illustrated page from the Shânâmâh, and has for its subject the romantic history of Prince Bahram. Various illustrated versions of this masterpiece of Firdussi exist in all the collections of Persian MSS. in Europe and America. Of all the "Stories of Kings," the adventure of Prince Bahram, is the most popular, and has inspired many Persian artists and calligraphers.

Apart from the Shânâmâh, the romance of the Prince is represented by Nizami in his "Haft Paikar" or Bahramnâmâ. It is the story of the Prince and the seven Princesses, each the most beautiful daughter of a different ruler of the world, whom he married and visited by turn, in their seven different palaces ; each Princess used to entertain him in turn during his visit, with some romantic tale. The passage of the text which crops up on the borders of the illustration in the Frontispiece does not actually relate to the scene depicted. The Prince is seated in a richly appointed room receiving a cup of drink from the Princess. In the foreground is a dancer, gracefully posing to the accompaniment of a harp and two drums. On the left is depicted an exquisite group of ladies in mysterious white togas, exchanging drinks and fruits accompanied by mysterious whispers and languid gestures. In the two upper windows similar pairs are seen posed in similiar mysterious groups. In the pavilion of the neighbouring garden a servant is bringing a dish of fruits to a seated lady. The oval faces with narrow foreheads and the gestures of the ladies are all cast in one melancholy mould, which deluge a scene of happiness and enjoyment, in an atmosphere of extreme sadness. A scene of obviously sensuous import, assumes the gravity of a religious subject. The artist pictures not a realistic feast of the senses, but a mystic dreamland peopled by imaginary types engaged in magic rites or solemn ceremonies. The note of joyousness is contributed not by the human actors, but by the dominating tree which puts forth its animated leaves, and by the moving branch of the plant which bursts forth into a riot of flowers. If we turn to the words of the text, we find that the somewhat ornate diction of the poet's expressions offers no justification for the note of sorrow that the artist has conveyed in terms of his strangely meditative human figures. The text may be rendered literally as follows:—

"Gold ? Gold is the route of happiness. For this reason gold is so dear. When the King heard the story to the end, he took her in his laps and went to bed with pleasure. When Monday arrived the King ordered a green canopy to be erected. Like verdure the lamp began to shine, layers of verdure like mountain, then he took himself to the green dome and threw his heart into enjoyment when like emeralds on that green place, the breeze of spring placed a garden of Stars. From there the green cypress started, and wanted to wrestle with the sugar cane. The fairy who had taken away the idea of worship raised the curtain of mystery from the eyes of Solomon."

In spite of the romantic beauty and the mystic flavour of the picture, it cannot claim much originality in the manner of

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A COURT SCENE. SCHOOL OF SULTAN MAHMUD. 16th CENTURY

By the courtesy of Messrs. Kouchakji Frères

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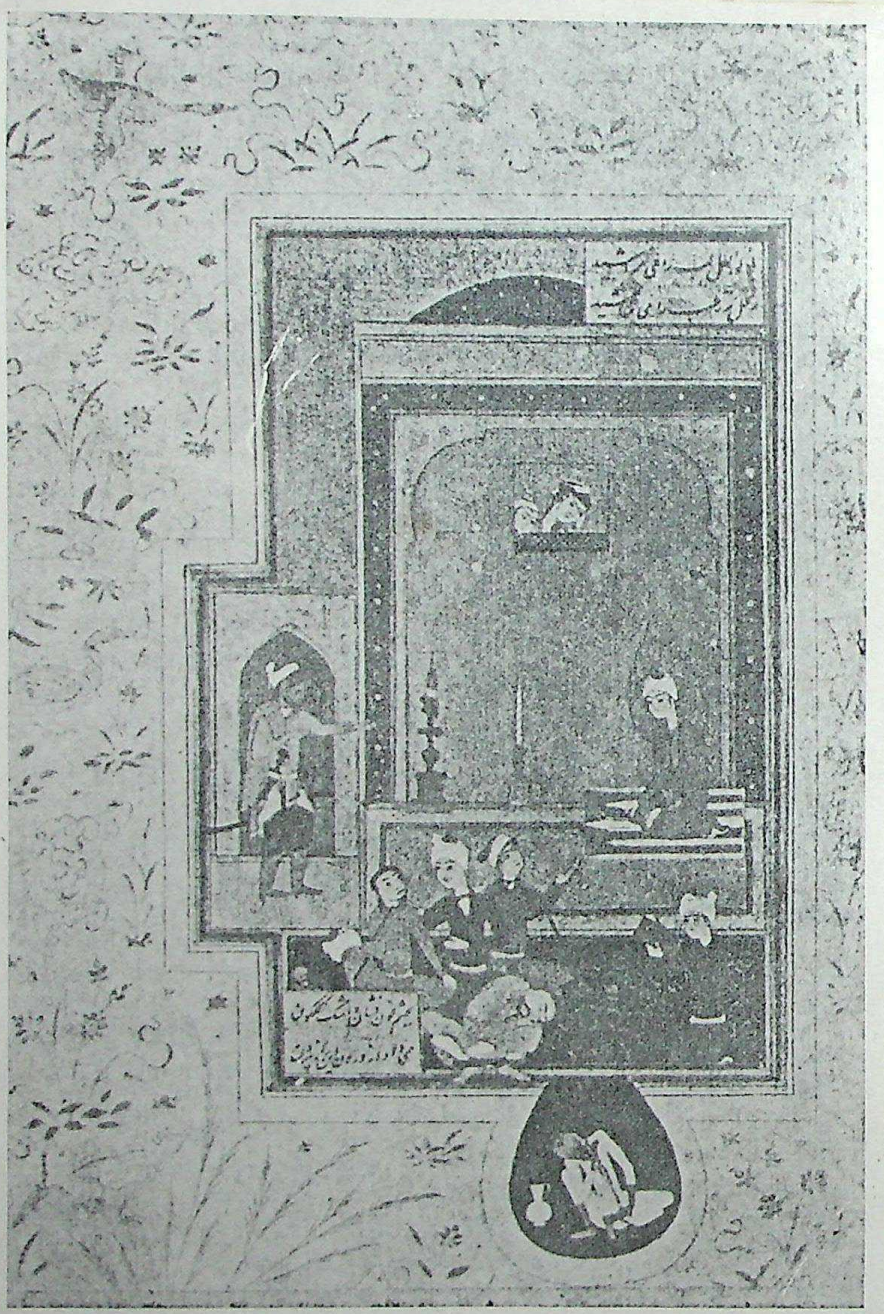

Illustration from Jami's: "YUSUF AND ZULIEKA"
Collection of Messers L. Chaundy (of Oxford) Ld.

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presentation, and can be easily related and paralleled to similar illustrations in various known MSS. illustrated by Bihzad and Miraq. The treatment of trees and the architecture—easily recall the pages of Bihzad: "Sikander with seven sages" (Nizami MSS., Martin, pl. 72) and "Teachers with their pupils" (Martin, pl. 74). The types of the figure follow very closely those of Miraq's picture "Shirin receiving the portrait of Khusru" (Martin, pl. 95), the nearest parallel is another piece by Miraq entitled: "Bahram with one of his wives in the black pavilion" (Martin, pl. 99). We may not be far wrong if we attribute our picture to the brush of Miraq himself, or one of his own pupils.

Somewhat later in date, is our next illustration on the opposite page—probably a page from Jami's Yusuf and Zuleika. It belongs to the collection of Messrs. L. Chaundy, and is here reproduced by the courtesy of the Editor of the *Beacon*. It is much more simple in composition than our Frontispiece, but equally refined and though more restrained in its dignified setting. It is the model of the best type of Persian book-illustration. The picture takes its allotted space inside the margin, with animated floral designs traced in gold on a buff ground—like a pretty jewel exquisitely set on a gold background. The miniature ($8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$) represents Zuleika, peeping from a window overlooking the prison, and looking at Yusuf, seated enchained with other prisoners, to be entranced by his beauty. An underground cell is skilfully introduced, showing a prisoner in chains, seated before a jar of water. The cell underground helps to give an idea of the three stories of the building rendered in three sections with entrance from outside, all placed together in one flat scheme without recourse to any perspective in the conventional sense, a devise obviously borrowed from Far Eastern painting. The page apparently belongs to the School of Sultan Mahmud (sometimes referred to as "Ustad Mahmud"), one of the pupils of Bihzad. A court scene attributed to the school of Sultan Mahmud (which we are able to reproduce here by the courtesy of Messrs. Kouchakji Freres of New York) offers a very interesting comparison with our second illustration. The general scheme of the two pictures, with a rectangular section projecting on the left is almost identical. Many of the figures have more than a family resemblance, e.g., the gate-keeper with his sword and dagger, and the single seated figure on the right. The little strips of writing are introduced with similar convention. The flowered border (hâshiyâ) with lively animals interspersed with flowers, plants and conventional Chinese clouds is more elaborate than that in the last picture, but follows carefully the same decorative convention. In the present example the composition is enhanced by the introduction of a landscape background with a cypress and a jasmine tree planted on a bed of flowering plants treated in a manner which the Persian painters have made their own. The shooting head of the cypress pushes across the boundary lines at the top and links up the picture with the decorated margin—which becomes part of the picture itself. The subject of the picture appears to be prosaic enough. A king is seated on his throne before whom a complainant, who has removed his turban is pouring forth his tale of grievances with much gesticulations, which move the two courtiers seated between to a smile of ridicule. The other seated figure, probably the Uzir, is giving some instructions to the warder who is perhaps disposed to remove the complainant from the Court. The jars, and the dishes of fruits, rather suggest a homely parlour than the gravity of a court scene. The introduction of the tiny bit of a garden lends lyrical flavour to the whole scene, which retrieves the dullness of a prosaic subject matter. This lyricism is a very characteristic feature of Persian Painting in its exalted moods. When the culture of Islam migrates from the arid sands of Arabia to the green verdure of the fertile plateau of Persia, it assumes new forms and novel colours. The forced asceticism of the Arabian desert gives place to an yielding to the pleasures of life, which nature in her abundance gives full opportunity for fulfilment. The limpid streams and the beds of roses, the groves of cypresses and the richness of the orchards, lend a complexion to life which was

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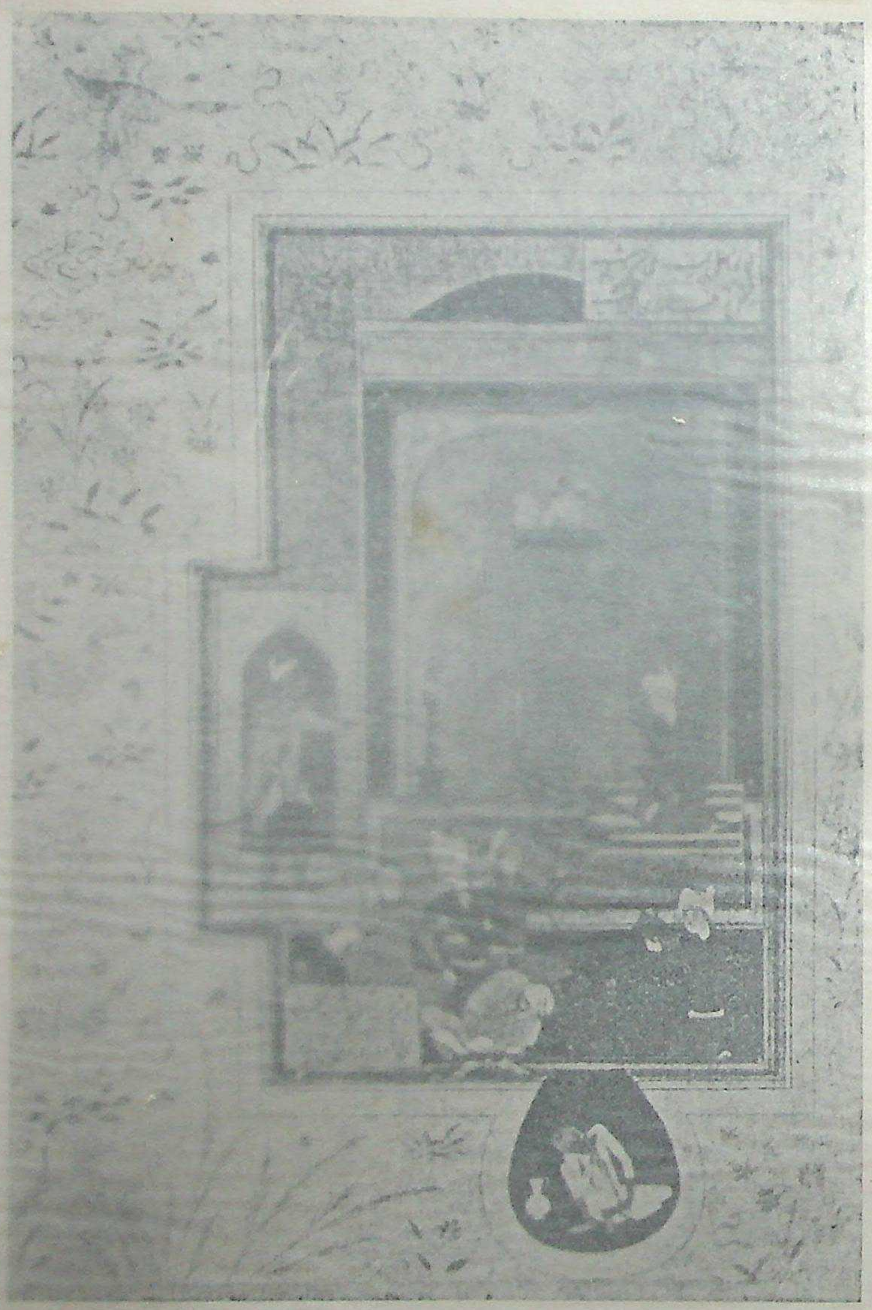

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II.—KRAMA-KRITI AND KRAMA-BHANGA.*

By STELLA BLOCH.

MAN left to his own personal devices immediately commits suicide. Without the heritage of religion and social tradition, he dedicates himself to evil inevitably—without an inherited religion, he devises his own god, whose attributes are human weaknesses, whose law is inconstant, and, moreover, defiant of the laws of nature. Without a social tradition he rushes headong to doom—feeding himself on poisonous foods, and training himself in destructive occupations. To prove his own power (the one convincing force in the world) he must ride over all conditions ; thereby electing those conditions to be his mortal enemies. The craftsman (in such an order) will be consumed by his craft, the lover will be abject to love, the statesman will be enslaved by his own machinations, the poet will strangle in the effort for utterance—and thus futility attend all of life's activities. His own children shall tread upon him who goes in search of individual power and freedom.

The religion of an individual, however highly evolved and accomplished, in architecture, is but the propounding of the original evil ego. The ethics of the individual are but the appurtenances of egoism, and serve no good. Religion, Philosophy, and Submission, as discovered by the individual in a chaotic society shall not avail him or anyone—he must continue to feed himself unwisely, to sleep irregularly, to wear out his mind in futilities, and to be sexually disgraceful. However special and heroic his position, he must die without honour, without sons to mourn him and uphold his name—his name is free to all men, either for slander or praise, and his whole existence is as ephemeral as the millions of opinions he created.

A social tradition is a sign of religion : it ensures for every man a home—food that is beneficial to his body, laws of living that will in every way enrich his strength and preserve it, occupations to suit his hands and temperament, and a sense of absolute necessity (inevitability) behind it all to uphold his faith in life. Moreover, he will

* "Following Tradition and Breaking Tradition."

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SCENE IN A GARDEN
By Miraq

By The Courtesy of The Editor.
"The International Studio."

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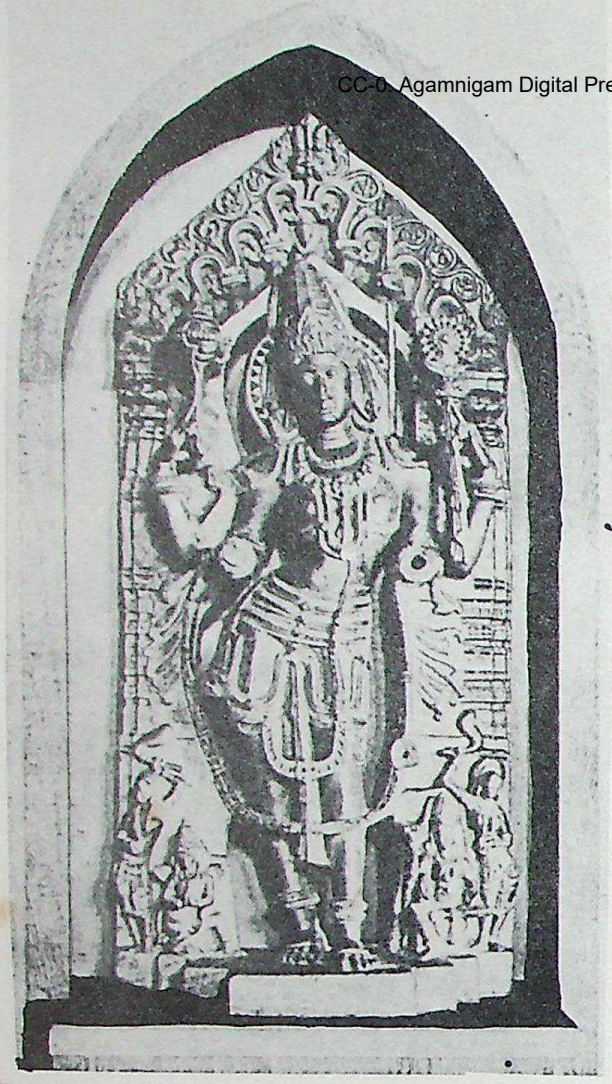

Fig. 2. VISHNU, SOUTH, CENTRAL or WESTERN INDIA
10th Century. 6 feet high
Pennsylvania University Museum

Fig. 3. BRAMHA, BELLARY DISTRICT
11th-12th Century. 5ft. 5½ins. high
Pennsylvania University Museum

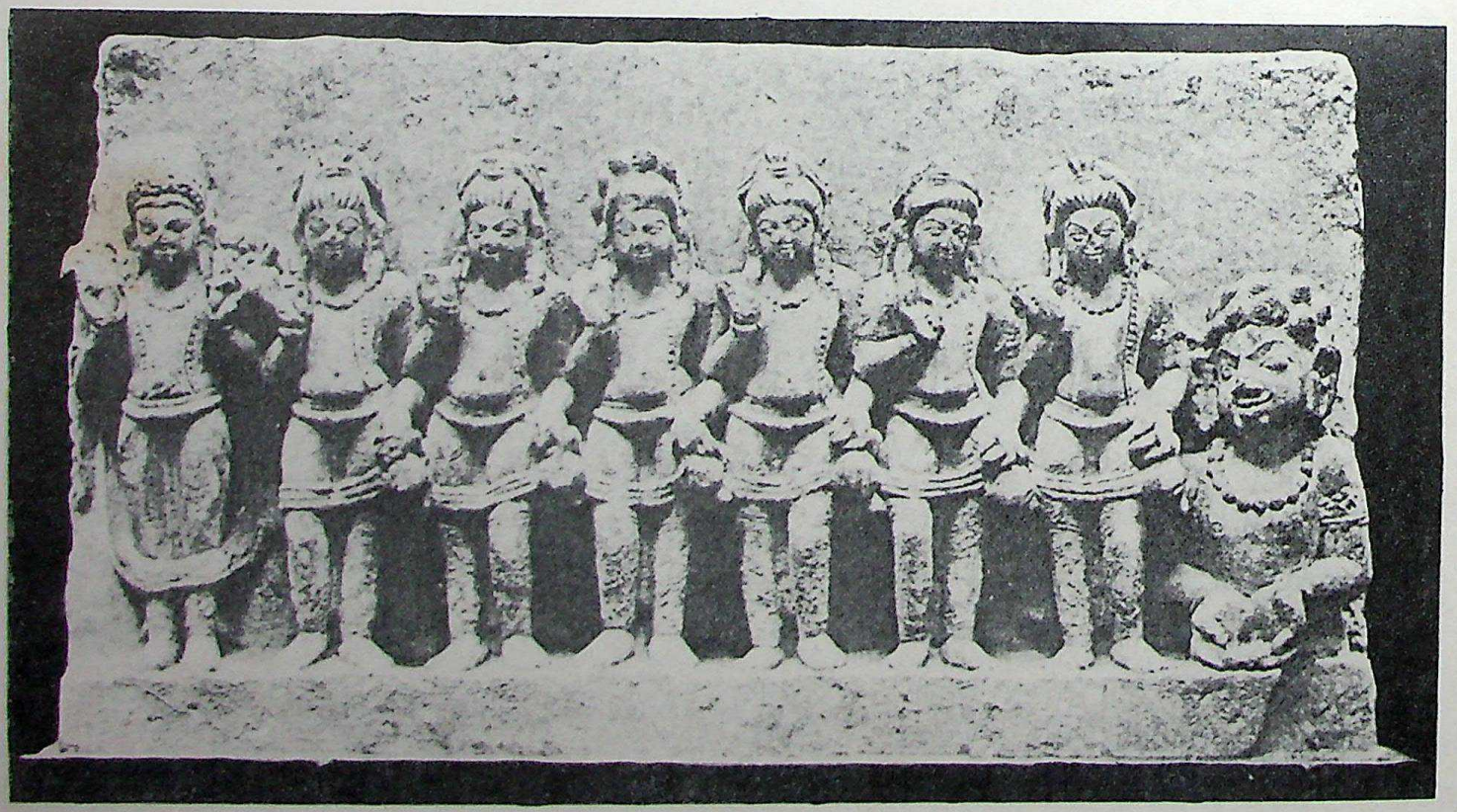

Fig. 6. NAVAGRAHA (NINE PLANETS) GUPTA 23½ ins. wide
Worcester Art Museum, U.S.A.

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have honour in life and death. A man with this heritage is noble, strong, agile, intelligent, and profoundly happy.

In a place where materialism reigns, every citizen shall suffer from material discomfort—material perfection, is the fruit of wisdom, and not of materialism. Where individualism is the social condition, the individual is in life-long bondage—ever striving for the chimerical freedom conceived of pride. True freedom is utter obedience, and not iconoclasm.

III.—SOME INDIAN SCULPTURES IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS.

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

THE University Museum, Philadelphia, has acquired, during the last few years, a number of Indian sculptures, four of which are discussed and illustrated.

The first and earliest of these (Figure 1) is a small standing Vishnu in a dark slaty stone. The figure is clothed in a thin muslin *dhoti* closely moulding the flesh, and a kind of sash in which is stuck a dagger. The deity has a sacred thread of simple form, and the following jewels: crown with four *puris*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bracelets, and a long flower garland (*vana mala*). The hair, in tight ringlets emerges under the crown and reaches the shoulders. Of the four hands, the lower right, which perhaps held the discus or rosary or may have been in *abhaya hasta* and was raised to the shoulder level, is broken away; the upper right is lower in position and rests on the head of the female *cauri*-bearer; the upper left in the corresponding position rests on the head of the dwarf; the lower left, forwardly extended, holds the conch. Behind the head is a circular *siras chakra*, perfectly plain except for an incised line following the circumference. On the proper right stands a crowned female attendant with a fly whisk in her right hand, the left hand raised to the chin, without attribute. On the proper left stands a chubby nude dwarf (probably an *ayudha purusa*) with thick curly hair, the right hand raised, the left *katyavalambita*, resting on the thigh. The pedestal exhibits simply graded rectangular forms. All the forms are vigorous and fleshy; this is a very accomplished and elegant piece of work. It is undoubtedly of North Indian origin (perhaps Kashmir or Kulu) and of relatively early date. There is a reminiscence of Western (Gandhara) manner in the treatment of the figure, in spite of the more energetic realisation; the plain *siras chakra* is an early feature; the dwarf recalls the similar figures of the Ajanta frescoes; the features and crown and general aspect tend toward those of the earliest Nepalese types. On the whole I am inclined to suggest an origin in Kashmir and date about the fourth century A.D.

A much larger standing Vishnu (Figure 2), of early Châlukyan character, in a dark hard polished granulite is probably of South Central or Western Indian origin and about the tenth century in date. The two lower hands are broken away; the upper right holds the conch, the upper left the discus. Broken attachment surfaces are seen at equal distances above and below the broken elbow socket of the lower left hand. If the mace was held in this hand, we should have the formula P. S. C. G. characteristic for Kesava. The deity wears a high crown (*kirita mukuta*) combined with the diadem (*usnisa bhusana*) with four *puris*, and the usual jewellery; the elaborately wrought sacred thread expands into a sort of pendant which hangs down almost to the knees, the *vana mala* reaching to just below the knees. There are female *cauri*-bearers to right and left, probably the apsarases Vyâjanî and Kaminî, at the outer sides of the pedestal; next to the deity on the proper right is a small kneeling figure of Garuda, and on the proper left a seated crowned goddess, the right hand in *abhaya hasta* with a rosary; this is probably Laksmi. The sides of the perforated screen are treated architecturally.

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The *makara torana*, crowned by a *kirtti mukha* face springs from a pair of four-legged makaras, and carries in the whorls of its floral ornament representations of the *Das Avatara* of a Vishnu.

A standing figure of Brahmâ (Figure 3) in an even more elaborate, and indeed, rococo style, is a typical product of fully developed Châlukyan art. It bears an inscription in Kanara characters of the eleventh or twelfth century. The jewelled costume can best be understood in the reproduction. Of the four hands the two lower and upper left are broken away, the upper right holds the wooden ladle (*sruk*) used for pouring *ghi* upon the sacrificial fire. The four-handed goddesses standing to right and left are probably Sâvitrî and Sarasvatî. The perforated screen is architecturally treated at the sides, the arch, as usual surmounted by a *kirtti mukha*, is a prolongation of the bodies of two-legged makaras; the whorls of the floral ornament contain two *hamsas*, one on each side. The inscription records that the image was made by one Châvundoja, architect of the temple of Trailokyamallesvara (the present Mallikarjuna temple) in Kuruvatti (in the Harpanahalli Taluk of the Bellary District, Madras Presidency), and further indicates that this Châvundoja was a Jain, and "pupil" of Ballaha, i. e., Ballabha, perhaps Trailokyamalla Ahavamalla Somesvara I, r. 1044-1068.

A Saiva sculpture in black slate, of the Pala school of Bihar-Bengal-Orissa (Figure 4) and perhaps of twelfth century date is of the type popularly known as Trimûrti, and because of its perfect preservation throws a valuable light upon the interpretation of other examples, particularly the well known Trimûrti of Elephanta which was recognised by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao as Saiva and identified by him as a Mahesamûrti. In the Pennsylvania figure the Saiva character is clearly established by the third eye, cobra sacred thread, *jata mukutas*, trident and drum attributes, and the Nandi, Kali and *ganas* of the pedestal. Of the hands, the two normal hands (i. e., lower right and lower left) are respectively in *abhaya hasta*, and holding a *rudraksa mala*; taking the other hands in the usual order, the second right, on the right knee, is in *varada* pose, denoting charity; the third holds a spear (*sula*,) the fourth, a club (*danda*) the fifth, the trident (*trisula*); the upper right, the hand drum (*damaru* or *dhakka*); the next, a blue lotus (*nilotpala*); the next, a cobra; the fourth, apparently a fruit. The right and central faces are peaceful, the left *ugra*. The centre of the base has a Nandi, a dancing Kali, and two dancing *ganas*. The *torana*, crowned by a *kritti mukha* carries two *vidyadharas*. Of the three forms of Siva thus combined, the central figure is most likely Sadyojâta, two of whose hands should be held in *varada* and *abhaya* positions, while a third should have the *aksa mala*; the proper left hand figure is evidently the Aghora aspect of Siva, of fierce aspect and holding a cobra in one of his hands.

An anonymous loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is black slate relief of the Pala school of Bihar-Bengal-Orissa, representing a form of the Bodhisattva Manjusrî (Figure 5). The deity is seated in *padmasana*, has three heads and six arms. The faces are three-eyed. The normal hands are crossed on the chest in the position known as *vajra-hum-dhara*, the second right an arrow (?), the upper right the sword (which cleaves the darkness of illusion), the upper left the blue lotus, the second left holds the handle of what was probably a mirror. The screen is a trifoliate niche, or arch supported by pillars, surmounted by a *makara torana* in low relief, the space between the trifoliate arch and the floral edge of the *makara torana* being occupied by five *sikhara* shrines in each of which is represented a reflex of the main figure of Manjusrî, each with three heads and six arms, the upper right always holding the sword, the arrangement of the other hands and attributes slightly varying. The main figure is seated on an expanded lotus, the branching stem of which is seen on the base; the largest whorls of the branches contain small figures of Jambhala and Târâ, and right and left of these are figures presumably of donors. This is a highly finished and technically accomplished example of late Buddhist art in India, at the same time more deeply felt and more

Fig. 5. Manjusri, Bengal, 10th Century.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Fig. 1. Vishnu, Kashmir, or Kulu
About 4th century A. D., 8¾"
Pennsylvania University Museum.

Fig. 4. Mahesha-mûrti, Bengal.
About 12th century, 3 feet 3¼"
Pennsylvania University Museum.

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animated than is usually the case in the late Pala period. On these grounds I suppose it cannot be later than the tenth century.

The Worcester Art Museum has recently acquired an important example of Indian sculpture, a sandstone slab with eight figures in high relief (Figure 6). The composition belongs to a well-known type representing the nine planets (*Navagraha*), that is to say planetary and other stellar deities corresponding to the Adityas (Varuna, etc.) of Vedic mythology. Beginning from the left hand side the figures represent successively: Sûrya (the Sun), Chandra (the Moon), Mangala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (Venus), Sani (Saturn), and Râhu, the ascending node of the moon; the ninth figure, representing Ketu, the descending node of the moon, is now lacking, a small part of the slab on the right hand side being broken away. There is no inscription, nor are the deities distinguished by any representation of their animal "vehicles."

Sûrya, on the extreme left, is represented with a jewelled head-dress, a corselet of chain armour, loin cloth and girdle, loose shawl or sash falling below the knees, and a necklace; the hands are raised to the level of the shoulders, each hand holding a rose lotus (*padma*). Of these elements the two lotuses are characteristic of Sûrya in a majority of his images, particularly those of later date, and the chain armour is characteristic of the earlier forms in "Northern" costume. Whether the Worcester figure is to be understood as wearing boots, or is barefooted like the six figures following, cannot be definitely determined.

The six deities following are iconographically indistinguishable: the type is that of the ascetic with long, high-dressed hair (*jata mukuta*), bead necklace and large ear-rings, sacred thread, loin cloth, shawl or sash draped across the thighs, the right hand raised and holding a rosary, the left holding a water pot (*kamandalu*). This type of standing figure with the water (or *amrita*) vessel is of interest as being a general one which was used in the Kushan period to represent various deities: it is best known as representing the Bodhisattva Maitreya, but is also used for Nagas (dragons or serpents). It is evidently the prototype of the Brahmâ and Maitreya figures of the Gandhara (Greco-Buddhist) school. It may be observed that this use of a general type for several distinct purposes is an early feature, the more precise, explicit and detailed iconography being gradually developed during the Kushan and Gupta periods. In the much later Lucknow Navagraha the planetary deities are distinguished by differing attributes and by the representation of their proper "vehicles."

The half-length figure of Râhu is grotesque, with a large head and curly hair—a relatively ignoble type. The two hands are held before the stomach as if to receive a gift. The missing figure of Ketu should be represented with a serpentine lower body.

The nearest analogue to the Worcester slab is that of the Lucknow museum.* The composition is identical, but the work is of much later date, perhaps of the tenth century, and the deities are distinguished by varying attributes and by the indication of their animal "vehicles."

The Worcester group of the Navagraha may be assigned, at least tentatively, to the latter part of the Gupta period (320-650 A.D.), in some sense the "best," that is to say the most fully evolved and yet still creative, period of Indian art. The forms are full and essentially sculpturesque—the art is still an art of volumes, and not yet one of boundaries, as it has become in the Lucknow Navagraha referred to above. Notwithstanding that six of the eight figures are iconographically identical, each is individually and sensitively treated. All are more graceful and have more movement than is usual in the preceding, Kushan, period. The Sûrya type is intermediate in character between early and late forms. The differentiation of the "low caste" Râhu from the more aristocratic powers is very marked and exhibits admirably the great range of expressive power to be recognised in Gupta art. It is upon such general grounds that the work is here assigned to the Gupta period. It is undoubtedly of North Central Indian origin, and though not in the common mottled red

* Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian Images*, pt. 1, Calcutta, 1921, Pl. XXII.

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sandstone so much used at Mathura may be of that school.

The Museum of Fine Arts has acquired by gift from Dr. Denman W. Ross a Cambodian bronze (Figure 7) of special charm. It represents a dancing apsaras; she stands on an expanded lotus-like flower borne upon a flowering spray which terminates in a half-opened bud in which there is revealed a similar but smaller female figure, holding a flower in each hand, the body being visible only from the waist upward. The apsaras wears a tiara and pointed crest and other jewellery, and a loin cloth. The hands are raised, palms upward. The indication of a third eye associates the figure with Saiva cults. Above the dancing figure and the whole branch is a trifoliate, or, strictly speaking, quinquefoliate flame-fringed arch, the lower corners of which are supported by dragon (naga) heads, of which only one survives; this is really a form of *makara torana*. The whole must be regarded as part of a larger composition, and may have formed the crest of a standard.

Fig. 7. APSARAS. CAMBODIAN BRONZE
9th-12th Century. 15½ ins. high
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

There is said to be another part of the same piece in the Museum at Pnomh Penh. The nearest analogue for the composition representing a danseuse beneath a *torana* is a stele from Beng Mealea, of which the original or a cast is in the Trocadéro, Paris (Le Musée indochinois), Anon., Paris, n. d. pl. 55). Other Cambodian dancing figures in bronze are illustrated in Groslier, G., *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, 1921, pl. XXVIII.

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IV.—INFLUENCE OF RACE ON EARLY INDIAN ART.*

By Sir JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E., M.A., Litt. D., F.S.A.,

Director-General of Archaeology in India.

ANY one privileged to deliver a lecture in commemoration of Sir George Birdwood must be conscious, as I am, of one great advantage. He can choose almost any subject he likes from the realm of those relating to India, and he can be sure that the subject chosen is one in which Sir George Birdwood would himself have been deeply interested; in other words, he can be sure that it will be quite appropriate to the occasion. Whether one turns to the history or to the religions of India, to her folk-lore or her ethnology, to her arts and crafts, or to her industries, or her agriculture, it is the same. To each and every one of these subjects, and to many more besides, Birdwood's genius and imagination contributed something of real and permanent value, for which each of us, in his own sphere, is devoutly grateful. Speaking from this place last year Sir Thomas Arnold asked your indulgence for what he described as the pedantic character of his lecture—pedantic, as he alleged, in comparison with the weighty and comprehensive problems handled by his predecessors. I am afraid that I, too, must claim from you the same indulgence. Curiously enough, although I was not aware of it at the time I selected my subject, I find that it is in a measure complementary to Sir Thomas Arnold's. Sir Thomas, you will remember, dealt with Indian painting in its relation to Moslem culture. This afternoon, I propose to say something of Indian art in the pre-Moslem period, and I shall endeavour, in particular, to analyse the factors which contributed mainly to its genesis and subsequent evolution. The subject, I need hardly say, is a big one, and the most I can do, in the limited time at my disposal, is to sketch in the bare outlines and leave it for another occasion to amplify and fill in the details.

And, in the first place, I want, very briefly, to remind you of the most salient features of this Indian art of the pre-Moslem period. The history of this art divides itself conveniently into three distinct chapters. First, there is the Early Indian School, covering some five centuries—from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D.—and extending over most of India except the Punjab. When this school first appears on our horizon in the sculptures of Bharhut, and Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi, the feature that characterises it most is its keen appreciation of decorative beauty. From start to finish this decorative quality, this sense for rhythmic flowing ornament, and particularly for floral ornament, is the special prerogative of the Indian artist. It is his birthright. You will find it inherent in every phase and in every period of Indian art, whether it be in these early sculptures of the Buddhists, in the mediæval paintings of Ajanta, in the elaborate architecture of the Hindus and Jains, or in the fairy-like structures of the Moguls. And, seeing to what a high pitch this sense for the decorative had been developed in the earliest monuments that have survived to us, we can hardly doubt that it had come down from an immemorial antiquity. But, side by side with their rich decorative beauty, there is another feature that strikes us forcibly in these efforts of the Early School. It is, that the modelling of the human figure is still quite crude and primitive. Consider, for example, the well-known statue from Parkham, near Muttra. When it was carved, Indian art was in much the same stage of progress as Greek art had been in the sixth or seventh century B.C. It was not yet freed from the law of "frontality" or from the trammels imposed by the "memory image" of primitive man. Or consider the reliefs on the Stupa of Bharhut, which are no more rudimentary than other contemporary sculpture. They are portrayed merely as silhouettes sharply detached from their backgrounds, the only attempt at modelling being made by grading the several planes of the relief in distinctive layers and then rounding off their contours. In these figures of Bharhut the interest of the artist in the human form, as an object worthy of portrayal, had scarcely begun to dawn. The task before him was merely to narrate the story of the Buddha—that story in which all living things were co-equal—in the simplest and most unaffected language that his chisel could command, much as any romance ballad writer might have narrated it. Of expressing emotion or idealising form he knew nothing, nor did he make any pretence at either. Man to him was as yet merely an incident in the scheme of creation—not, as he became later, the lord of it. Little by little the Early School surmounted many difficulties of technique, and by the beginning of the Christian era it was able to portray the human form with considerable skill. But it was not until the Golden Age of India—that brilliant age between the fourth and seventh century of our era—that art made any real effort to interpret the beauty of the body or the aspirations of the soul.

Now for the second chapter of our Indian art. This second chapter is concerned with the Græco-Indian School of the North-West, which was

* A lecture delivered before the Royal Society of Arts, London, on 15th June 1923.

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established by the Bactrian-Greek invaders in the second century before Christ and kept alive by their successors—the Scythians and the Parthians and the Kushans—until the fifth century of our era. This school starts by being essentially Greek. This relief, for example, on the screen, is one of its products—a bust of Dionysius in silver *repousse* from Taxila, holding the two-handled wine cup in his hands; and the next, which belongs to a little later date, is a statuette in bronze from the same site—a figure of the Egyptian Harpocrates—the Child God of Silence. But, though Greek at the outset, the school gradually absorbs many heterogeneous elements from Persia and Scythia and India, and eventually becomes thoroughly hybrid in character, in which phase it is known commonly as the "Gandhara School"—from the district of Gandhara (that is, roughly, the North-West Frontier Province) where it mainly flourished, or as the "Græco-Buddhist" School, from the fact that it came to be devoted almost exclusively to the service of Buddhism. The few typical examples of its sculptures that I shall put before you will suffice to show the character of its art and also to illustrate the steady process of Indianisation that it underwent up to the close of the fifth century A.D. The features of this school that specially deserve notice are, first, that in spite of this art being exotic on Indian soil, it exhibited nevertheless a remarkable vitality in the North-West, and its influence managed to survive there for at least six hundred years. Secondly, it had the merit of inventing the chief types of the Buddha which afterwards became stereotyped in Buddhist art; and besides supplying India with many *motifs* and ideas, it performed a specially valuable service in teaching the Indian artists of the National School how to solve many of their problems and difficulties. In these ways this quasi-classical art of the North-West undoubtedly did much to promote the growth and development of Early Indian art; but, on the other hand, there is no evidence to indicate that it exercised any profound influence on the esoteric character of that art.

And now for the third and most important chapter, namely, the Gupta School of the mediæval age, which sprang into being under the Imperial Gupta Empire in the fourth century and reached its fullest maturity in the seventh. This Gupta School is essentially Indian—the lineal descendant of the Early School—but the horizon of art has been vastly widened in the meantime. It retains all the decorative beauty of the Early School, and in many ways improves upon it; but it raises art on to an altogether higher plane. The Gupta period, as you know, was the Golden Age of India, the greatest of her creative epochs, when there was an outburst of mental activity such as Greece had experienced some eight centuries earlier, and such as Italy was to experience a thousand years later. The results of this activity were made apparent in every direction. In the political sphere they resulted in resuscitating the Imperial idea which had been dormant since the days of the Mauryas, and led to the foundation of the great Gupta Empire. In the field of religion they found expression in the revival of Brahmanism, and along with Brahmanism in the revival of Sanskrit, which was the sacred language of the Brahmans. It was during this period that Kalidasa wrote his immortal plays; that the Puranas were compiled; that the laws of Manu took their present form and that mathematics and astronomy reached their highest perfection. And this new intellectualism affected art as much as anything else. It brought it under the control of reason. Henceforth there is a clearer apprehension and more lucid definition of form; proportion and balance become more logical; rhythm and composition more thoughtful; and—what is most important of all—the human form now becomes the main objective of the artist, not for the sake only of its inherent beauty, but for the sake of the deeper mental and spiritual qualities that are latent in it. In the whole history of Indian Art there is no feature more interesting than the humanism, if I may be permitted to use that term in a somewhat narrower sense than is usual—the humanism which took possession of it in this Golden Age, but which vanished again at its close. The effect on Asia of this Gupta School was immense. It was the fountain-head of that broad and wonderful stream of Buddhist and Hindu art which flowed over the length and breadth of India, and from India over the whole of the Middle and Far East, bearing along with it the highest traditions and the noblest ideals of the Indian people.

Now, the two questions which I want to try to answer this afternoon, are these: "Whence came the national decorative and illustrative art of India?" And, secondly, "To what are we to attribute the sudden outburst of intellectualism and humanism in the Gupta epoch?"

Among most writers on Indian art it has been the fashion to give to the Indo-Aryans—that is, to the Nordic people, who brought with them the Vedic civilisation into India—the credit for all that was best in ancient Indian culture; and in this "best" they have naturally included the fine arts. Let us, however, look at the facts. If it was these Vedic people who were the authors of early Indian art, we should expect that art to be strongest in the districts where the Vedic peoples established themselves: that is, in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab; and weakest in the districts most remote from their influence. But what we actually find is the very reverse. The Nordic peoples entered India from the North-West, and expelled or exterminated the bulk of the Dravidian and other pre-Aryan population from the "land of the five rivers". But the further they progressed the fewer grew their numbers. Hence, in Hindustan and Central India, instead of sweeping away

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the older inhabitants in front of them, they gradually coalesced with them, forming a mixed stock, and evolving a hybrid Aryo-Dravidian culture. Still further to the south, and in districts more remote from the Punjab, the pre-Aryan races remained practically intact. Now, the decorative art of which I have spoken has always flourished most strongly in the south of the Peninsula, or in the districts furthest from the Punjab. It is found in a weaker and more modified form in Central India and Hindustan, and it is weakest of all in the Punjab. Broadly speaking, all the Indian art of to-day is pervaded by a wonderfully decorative charm, but it is as one goes southward that this charm becomes more apparent, and it is in the Madras Presidency and Ceylon that it reaches its fullest and most spontaneous expression. Nothing, to my mind, in the whole domain of Indian art, is more fascinating than to watch a south-Indian artist—it may be a mere child—evolving and tracing out some rich and highly complex pattern; nothing more amazing than his dexterity of touch, the fertility of his imagination, and his unerring instinct for rhythm of line. And what is true of Indian art to-day, was equally true in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is in the south of India, in the sculptures of Amaravati, that we find the richest, most rhythmical, and most imaginative designs. In the Punjab, as my excavations as Taxila have abundantly proved, there was little or no art of any kind before the arrival of the Greeks; and it was, I suspect, because the Punjab was so destitute of indigenous art, that it offered such a fertile soil for the propagation of this foreign school. It is clear, therefore, that it was not to the Indo-Aryans, but to the earlier Dravidian or other pre-Aryan people, that India was indebted for her natural and inborn love of ornamental design. All that we know of the Indo-Aryan or Vedic people suggests that in the domain of the formative arts they possessed little natural ability. Their genius lay in other directions. They were men of great bodily and mental vigour, but their mentality was of a practical, not of an æsthetic order. Their interest focussed mainly on the necessities of life, on man (that is, on Indo-Aryan man), and on his welfare. Their natural disposition was towards law and order; they had a strong moral sense of right and wrong; keen powers of observation; and an exceptional faculty for conscious, logical thought, as compared with the sub-conscious emotionalism of the pre-Aryan races. These gifts and qualities of the Indo-Aryans sufficiently account for their superiority over the races with whom they came into contact, and are reflected in the highly organised system of Vedic society; in the lucid practical structure of the Vedic language; and in the anthropomorphic character of their religion. But, though the Indo-Aryan people had little natural ability for the fine arts, they made, nevertheless, a very important contribution towards their development and towards the development of culture, generally, in India. We have already seen what effect their immigration had on the art of the north and of the south of India. Let us consider what happened in the midland country of Hindustan and Central India. In this midland country, *Madhyadesa*, as it was called in ancient days, the Indo-Aryans intermarried with the older population, and gave birth to a new racial type—a hybrid, known as the Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type. The fusion of the two races which took place in this area had the happiest result for India, just as the fusion of the Nordic and Mediterranean stocks had the happiest result for classic Greece. The Aryo-Dravidian peoples whom it produced combined in themselves the sensitive emotional qualities, the intuitive genius, and the unconscious artistry of the older inhabitants with the more practical nature and the philosophic mentality, as well as the humanism, of the Indo-Aryan race. Henceforth, the midland country becomes the centre of culture and thought, as it also becomes the centre of political power, in India. Among the older, pre-Aryan people of India, as among the peoples of the Far East, man had been merely an item in the landscape—no higher than the creatures or living things around him. Among the Indo-Aryans, as among the Nordic peoples generally, man came first and foremost in the order of creation; and from man radiated—to man were subordinated—all other interests. So long as the Indo-Aryans preserved their blood intact, this intense "humanism"—this egoism of the species—found expression in their thoughts, in their literature, and in their religion. It could not find expression in formative art, for the simple reason that the Indo-Aryans were destitute of natural artistry; they did not know how to articulate their ideas with the chisel or the brush. But once their race had been blended with the Dravidian, the mixed stock which resulted from the union found itself possessed of the means of putting its thoughts into visible concrete form. In the sculptures of Bharhut we see the awakening of this new power, we hear the first lisping accents of humanism and intellectualism. In the sculptures of Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi the voice is slowly gaining strength, and then, after an interval of silence—which, unfortunately, is almost a blank in the history of Indian art—it is heard in the paintings of Ajanta and in a multitude of contemporary sculptures, in all its force and richness. Unfortunately, as time passed, the blood of the Aryans grew thinner, and the invigorating stimulus that they had exercised on Indian art gradually waned. By the tenth century the controlling mentality of the Indo-Aryans is already fading away; humanism has all but vanished, and lucid definition and restraint are giving place once more to the rich but unrestrained ornament in which the Dravidian fancy has always delighted.

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The part played by the Indo-Aryans in India finds a close parallel in the part played by the Nordic peoples in other countries, but to-day I must content myself with citing only the parallel case of early Greece. I am not, of course, so rash as to assume that the Indo-Aryans who invaded India were necessarily of the same race as the Achæans who established themselves in Greece. Community of language does not prove community of race; but kinship in speech does at least suggest kinship in other directions also, and it is legitimate to believe—though there are not sufficient data to prove whether we are right or wrong—that the Indo-Aryans may originally have sprung from the same stock as the Nordic invaders of Greece. In any case the parallel between the two countries is too striking not to be significant. Like the Dravidians of India, the people whom the Aryans found established in the Balkan peninsula, in the islands of the Levant, and round the coast of Asia Minor were gifted with a remarkable natural genius for decorative art. To appreciate the beauty of this art, one has only to recall to mind the richly carved goblets, the engraved gems, and the painted vases of early Aegean manufacture. But, exquisite as much of this Minoan and Mycenæan art was, it had nothing of the intellectual or humanistic qualities, which distinguish the later classical art of Greece. In Greece, as in India, it was only in the districts where the older population survived and amalgamated with the Nordic invaders—in Attica, that is to say, and the Peloponnese in the islands of the Aegean and on the coasts of Asia Minor—that Greek art was reborn again in its new and classic beauty—as Indian art was reborn under the Midland Empire of the Guptas. And in Greece no less than in India it was the northerners who imparted to art its rare power of definition, its splendid humanism, and its intellectual beauty. In India, in proportion to the size of the country, the ferment supplied by the invaders from the north took longer to react than it did in Greece; and it goes without saying that there were wide differences between India and Greece in art no less than in thought.

In classical Greece the keynote of culture was intellectualism. In some of his admirable chapters on classical Greek art Mr. March Phillipps has well expressed the meaning of this intellectualism. It was the faculty for keen observation, for lucid reasoning, for hard logic and for clear definition. And in the Golden Age of Greece this intellectual faculty was strictly limited to the measure of the human mind; it focussed itself on man and on all that appertained to man. It made man the measure of all things—even of the Gods themselves. There is nothing which gives us a clearer perception of the essentially humane and intellectual outlook of the Greeks than their notions of divinity. The Greek Gods are mortal, because no thought was ever conceived of them which transcended human expression. There is no mystery, no vagueness, nothing supernatural or emotional in the graven deities of Greece, for the reason that such ideas formed no part of the mental equipment of the Greek. Their definition is a mortal definition—man idealised, it may be, but nothing more.

In India, intellectuality and humanism never went so far as they did in Greece. Indian architecture of the classical period is dominated by the same logical qualities as Greek architecture. It exhibits the same structural propriety and the same love of symmetry and proportion, the same appreciation of plain surfaces, the same restraint of ornament—though ornament, I should add, is richer and more varied in India than it is in Greece. On the other hand, the form in Indian architecture is not so pure, the refinement of line not so great, nor the definition of detail so clear as in the Greek. In other words, the sense for the decorative was greater in India, but it was less under the control of conscious thought. In sculpture and painting, again, the Indian artist found his highest inspiration in the human figure. The world in which he most delighted was the world of men and women. In the Ajanta caves he painted his models in a thousand different attitudes, studying them from the life, and revelling in the beauty of their figures, in the loveliness of their features, in the multiplicity of their poses, in the vital flowing lines of their forms. But over all this human and intellectual art, he cast the charm of his decorative fancy, which he had inherited from his Dravidian forbears; and behind all this humanism there lay a spiritual background of which the Greeks knew nothing. This spirituality is inherent in the soil of India; it is rooted in the soul of her people; but in the formative arts it found its true voice only during the brief and spacious age of the Guptas, when the impulses of thought and art were accentuated to their highest degree, and when closer contact had been established between the two. It is in the sculptures and paintings of Buddhism that this spirituality reaches its highest expression. At its outset Buddhism appealed, by its sheer ethical logic, to the philosophic mentality of Aryanised India; but by degrees, as the Aryan element weakened, it became less rationalistic, more and more spritual; and it ended by being re-absorbed into the essentially emotional Hinduism of the later Middle Ages. In the Gupta epoch, the spiritual had not yet mastered the intellectual, but Buddhism was no longer satisfied with the old ideals; it was conscious of needs which philosophy could not meet, of yearnings which intellect could never satisfy; and it sought to express these deeper, inward aspirations through the medium of its painting and sculpture. Unfortunately, in their hieratic art the Buddhists had to observe the strict conventions imposed by the conservatism of their faith; and they were hedged in and trammelled especially by the rigid canons of the

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Gandhara School, where Buddhist iconism had its birth. But, in spite of these conventions the Buddhist artists managed nevertheless to infuse into their sacred images such definition of form as their intellectuality required, and such spiritual character as was capable of expression. The spirituality of these figures is not the spirituality of Christian art, not the spiritual emotion that we see, for example, embodied, in the figures of Michael Angelo, the haunting wistfulness, the vague and anxious perturbation of soul, the restless longing for the Infinite, which seems never capable of fulfilment. It is the spirituality of Buddhism, which seeks to glorify the mind and spirit in one. The spirit which these figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas breathe, is the spirit of divine compassion and divine peace—not the human tranquillity, the self-sufficient majesty of Greek art, but the peace of heart and intellect which come from the contemplation of the Infinite. We must be careful, however, not to over-estimate, not to lay too much stress on the spiritual side of this art. Spirituality is always there, always somewhere beneath the surface, but the artists of Ajanta did not look at life from beneath a cowl. They saw life clearly and they saw it whole. They gloried in the beauty of humanity, they gloried in the world around them, and they gloried in their own power to interpret what they saw and what they felt.

Though I have dwelt particularly on the effect of race and racial fusion on the culture and art of classic India, we must not forget that there were other subsidiary factors besides race which contributed towards their evolution. Geography and climate both played their parts, and a greater one still was played by religion, though not so great perhaps in the case of Indian as in the case of Moslem art. Then, there is the influence of other nations and foreign invaders which must be taken into account—of the Persians, for example, and of the Greeks and of the Scythians. The debt which Indian art owes to all these peoples, and most of all to the Persians and Greeks, is a big one. But making full allowance for all these factors, and putting everything possible to their credit, it yet remains true that they fail to explain the phenomenal development of thought and literature and art in the Gupta epoch. The chief and primary cause of that development is a racial one: the mentality of the Aryo-Dravidian people. Among the paintings of Ajanta is one of a dark Dravidian girl in the arms of her fair Aryan lover. I think you will agree with me that this picture is curiously emblematic of the fusion of races that produced this art.

V.—INFLUENCE OF RACE ON EARLY INDIAN ART.*

By STELLA KRAMRISCH.

THE complex nature of Indian art calls for an analysis of its forms. The distinctive features once recognised, the question arises as to their origin. Race psychology has no richer harvest than can be gathered from the monuments. India comprises a variety of artistic expressions as wide in range as the individualities and fusions of the races that made it their home; Sir John Marshall's paper which represents the first attempt to identify the main currents of pre-Moslem sculpture and painting with the main ethnical stocks of India's population, based solely on the analysis and interpretation of creative form, opens a new chapter in the history of Indian art.

Pre-Moslem art is gathered into three groups, Early Indian art (3rd cent. B.C.—2nd cent. A.D.), the Græco-Indian School of the North-West (3rd cent. B.C.—5th cent. A.D.) and the Gupta School (4th cent.—7th cent. A.D.). The early art and that of the Gupta period are most significant moments in the evolution of Indian art. They contain the two poles and all that lies between, in the outlook of the Indian artists, who were of pure or mixed extraction, Indo-Aryans or pre-Aryans, i.e., Dravidians and aborigines. The monuments, therefore, speak a mixed language. To isolate its components a precise characteristic of each school is required.

According to Sir John Marshall the early school is distinguished by its "sense for rhythmic flowing ornament and particularly for floral ornament." The keen appreciation of decorative beauty is the birthright of the Indian artist ever present throughout the centuries of Indian art. This freely rhythmic ornament, however, appears in the early school as blended with a modelling of the human figure, "still quite crude and primitive, not yet freed from the law of frontality and the trammels of the memory image." With this material in hand, the aim of the artist is to narrate the communion of all living forms. To express emotion or to idealise does not lie within his scope.

Thus the value of the early school is defined; it is, however, given a positive and a negative sign, the latter being due to "frontality" and "memory image". The statue from Parkham, it is true, as well as all the free standing statues of the early period, conform with the law of frontality. It is equally true that the figures in the reliefs from Bharhut represent memory images. These memory pictures, however, are placed in every thinkable position; fore-shortenings are rendered with great audacity and no restraint is

*Notes on the lecture of Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A.

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known in inventing ever fresh attitudes. If we compare the Greek primitives, Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture to which the law of frontality applies, with this phase of Early Indian art, a discrepancy in the rendering of the human figure is noticeable. Egyptian tradition demands frontality from the sculpture in the round, while front and side views are combined into profile representation in relief and painting. The same attitude, broadly speaking, holds good for early Greece and Mesopotamia. Frontality for the figure in the round corresponds to a more or less rigidly observed conventional profile view of the figures, if represented on a surface. In either case the most complete view of the human figure is obtained. The Early Indian School, on the other hand, while observing frontality in the few sculptures in the round known to us, delights in giving the greatest variety possible of spontaneous postures to the figures represented in reliefs. It has moreover to be noted that the limits between low and high relief, between relief and sculpture in the round, were not binding for the Indian artist to the extent they were observed elsewhere. The Parkham statue and those from Patna are treated as bilateral reliefs, while some of the pillar figures of the Bharhut railing appear as round modelled shapes stuck to a flat post, and it is there that we find some of them in rigid parallelism and frontality, whereas others deviate from it by resting on one leg only and placing the other lightly in front of it or behind, with a light bend and turn of the body and sometimes of the face. Taking the Yakshinis from Sanchi, with their *bhangas* and ample movements into account, the relief treatment is replaced by that bilateral sculpture "in the round" in which we also see the Parkham figure. It seems then that the law of frontality does not apply to Early Indian sculpture as a whole, but to a group of statues only, set up most probably for one and the same special purpose.

It is just in that group of figures, where the "memory image"—as far as the upper part of the body goes—is equipped with emphatic observations of the modelling of the flesh, never to be met with again in Indian sculpture. Nevertheless, all works of Indian art are memory images, in so far as models never were made use of.

The terms gained from Egyptian and primitive art have to be recast to fit the Indian monuments. Notwithstanding this, to the early school "man is but an incident in the scheme of creation," one sound in that rhythmic flow, that does not portray but is animated by emotion.

The intermezzo of the "Græco-Indian" school is allotted proper position in the web of Indian art; that threads from there were shot through it, yet that they did not influence the colour and consistency of the texture is stated. It cannot, however, be said, that the school of Gandhara "had the merit of inventing the chief types of the Buddha which afterwards became stereotyped in Buddhist art." The aniconic trend of the Early Indian School did not admit any bodily representation of the Buddha. Yet those characteristics that later on became stereotyped as the most striking *lukshanas* of the Buddha figure were developed by the Early Indian School. They are there, and that they do not belong to the Buddha-figure, conspicuous by its absence, need not prevent us from recognising their presence and importance. The figure of a Dwarapala on one of the pillars from the railing at Bodh-Gaya* and some of the anonymous detached heads, there, inscribed into medallions on the brackets exhibit the *usnisa* crowning the head as an actual excrescence, covered as the rest of the head with short curls; moreover, the ear-lobes are greatly elongated, the eyes lowered, the lower lip relaxed in meditation and bulging out. The proportion of these faces, their short roundness, is the prototype of the later-on conventionalised type of the school of Magadha, whose wide-spread influence need not be emphasised. The trend, moreover, to give anthropomorphic appearance to the Buddha, inspite of all aniconic tendencies imposed on art, is so vital in the early school, that the abstract symbols used are made by the artists to play at anthropomorphism on the sly. So it is no wonder that in the Trayastrimsa scene from Bharhut, **the footprint symbol is actually made to descend the ladder, while twice on the Ajatasatru pillar ***we find the footprints placed below the "empty" throne, just where the foot of the Buddha, would he sit there, would touch the ground; and *pronama* is made to these footprints. The gateways of Sanchi similarly furnish examples for the "humanised" symbolism of the early indigenous school, bending towards broad representation. Gandhara has promoted this trend and found approval in India proper without however influencing the Indian types of the Buddha image except in Mathura partly and similarly in Amaravati...It would lead too far to discuss how far it performed a specially valuable service in teaching the Indian artists of the national school to solve many of their problems and difficulties. Its importance, however, in Indian art of the North-West of India and for the Far East is beyond questioning.

The Gupta period, then, "the lineal descendant of the early school" is said to express a humanism, a wealth of mental and spiritual suggestiveness, which are visualised by a "clearer apprehension and more lucid definition of form, by a more logical proportion and balance, by a more thoughtful rhythm and composition," so that the images exhibit such definition of form as the intellectuality

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*Rapson: Cambridge History of India; The Monuments of Ancient India by Sir John Marshall, pl. XIX. p. 50.

**Cunningham: Bharhut, pl. XVII.

***Cunningham: Bharhut, pl. XVI.

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of the Buddhist artist required and such spiritual character as was capable of expression. Never yet has Gupta art been more deeply understood. The problem then is, "Whence came the national decorative and illustrative art of India?" To what are we to attribute the sudden outburst of intellectualism and humanism in the Gupta epoch?

The Dravidian and the other pre-Aryan races are given by Sir John Marshall the recognition they deserve as creators of the super-abundant, intensely vital and imaginative rhythmical patterns, that are at their best in South India and lose in freshness and wealth, the further northwards we progress, and so they clearly claim the non-Aryans as their inventors. The Indo-Aryan immigrants on the other hand, were not burdened by and gifted with that kind of sensual emotionalism that urges so visualised expressions and is productive of æsthetic values. "Their natural disposition was towards law and order, they had keen powers of observation and an exceptional faculty for conscious, logical thought." When the two peoples intermarried in *Madhyadesa*, this fusion happily resulted in a combination of "the sensitive emotional qualities, the intuitive genius, and the unconscious artistry of the older inhabitants with the more practical nature and the philosophic mentality as well as the humanism of the Indo-Aryans, who, had they preserved racial purity, would have remained "destitute of natural artistry." This oneness of imaginative and constructive thought culminates in the art of the Guptas. There the delight in all things that are of the world is based on spiritual compassion, the exuberant wealth of ornamentation is disciplined by clear composition and keeps balance to the human-superhuman figures, whose intellect and spiritualism spreads over all paintings and carvings. Humanism and intellectualism awoke in Bharhut, ripened in Bodh-Gaya; with regard to Sanchi, the Dravidian strain—it appears to me—overpowers the Indo-Aryan, reached their height in the Gupta empire in the art of Buddhism but by the tenth century they were finally buried by "the unrestrained ornament of Dravidian fancy."

In so far Sir John Marshall's theory on the influence of race on Early Indian art is of greatest value. One point, however, needs to be discussed, i.e., the "humanism" of the Indo-Aryans. In this respect the analogy drawn between Greek art and the few suggestions concerning Nordic art may be examined once more. Greek art results, it is true, from a fusion of Minoan and Mycenæan decorative art and the art which the Aryan invaders brought with them. But a third factor is equally fundamental in the evolution of Greek art, the Egyptian tradition. In Egypt the human figure was the main subject; primitive Greece departed step by step from the frontality peculiar to the statues of Gods and Ka's of Egypt. The human figure in Greek art has its origin in Egypt. What the Nordic invaders brought with them, was a disciplined abstract design in an almost geometrical precision (cf. the vases of the Dipylon style). The same disciplined abstract design we find not only in the case of the Nordic invaders of Greece. Some centuries later the corresponding spectacle repeats itself in Italy, the Langobardic striped and matted patterns only need be mentioned. The human figure is unknown to them as it is to Celtic art and that of Sweden and Norway before Christianity brought it with it from the South and forced it into the abstract designs, which distorted it and made it part of their curves or angles.* Nordic art is conspicuous by its abstract design, its logic order in the correspondence of form. It repudiates the human figure and accepts it only when brought into contact with Southern tradition. Mediæval Dutch, Flemish and German paintings are a further instance. There, as in the painting of the Far East, man is merely an item in the landscape, if not entirely lost sight of in the spell of forests, meadows and sky. It is only when the Italian renaissance extends the supremacy of the human figure over the north of the Continent, that man, tall and conspicuous, is set in to the landscape or completely expels it from his presence (cf. the landscape art of Gertgen tot Sint Jans and the humanism of Lucas von Leyden, in striking contrast, or the fusion of northern and southern elements in A. Altdorfer's landscape pictures). Northern art in its non-representing stage is ornamental, with the help of an abstract design, into which at times distorted animal figures are accepted. But the human figure, if not subservient to the teachings of Christianity, is absent from it. At a later stage, when the pageant of nature becomes the theme of Nordic art, man again does not occupy the central position; on the contrary, he is an accent only in the landscape composition or he does not figure in it at all. History, however, brought the Nordic (Indo-Aryan) races into contact with southern people.. The art of three civilisations is the outcome of their fusion on southern soil, in Greece, in Italy, in India. Italy in one way continued the Greek tradition and so implicitly accepted the heritage of Egypt. What, on the other hand, the Aegaean and Mycenæan culture is to Greece, Etruscan culture is to Italy. The art of Egypt and of the Mediterranean employ the human figure, extensively in the case of Egypt and Etruria, less conspicuously in the case of Minoan Palaces. The northern invaders, on the other hand, bring with them into the south an ornament, destitute of the human figure, flowing in rhythmic curves in Italy, or accentuated into curt geometric shapes in Greece. The intermingling of the two trends, the Nordic (Indo-Aryan) the southern Mediterranean, brings forth an art which centres round the human figure, redeems it from the

* cf. J. Strzygowski: Ursprung der christeichen Kirchenkunst, pp. 83, 130.

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hieratic rigidity of pre-Aryan time and makes it the centre of clearly devised compositions. Greek art and the Renascimento are the humanistic periods of art, as a result of the fusion of north and south on southern soil.

In the case of India the components are not given to us in successive historical layers as in the case of Greece, or Italy, but we have to reconstruct them from the fusion which already is achieved when first we meet Indian art. An exuberant wealth of rhythmic flowing ornament, an equal wealth of human figures from the very outset culminate and are sublimated in the humanism of the Gupta period. The art of the south is richer in profuse ornament, but also richer in the employment of the human figure than the more northern parts. Amaravati's triumph of decorative patterns, makes the human figure their chief device. What restraint on the other hand in decorative patterns at Bharhut, what clearness there, and measure, and man co-ordinated with flowers, fruits and jewels! The non-Aryan south is responsible for the exuberant wealth of artistic invention, with regard to decorative devices as well as to the human figure. Mahavelipur in all its sculptures, though contemporary with the humanistic age in *Madhyadesa* almost automatically exhibits the human figure, and the animal and leaves aside all ornamentation, which by the Gupta artists is never pushed so completely in the background. The part played by the northern invaders then would be that of a rationalising ferment, pressing down the wild growth of pre-Aryan imagination, binding it with the logic of rhythm into patterns of that endless melody, so dear to Nordic art in the West from pre-Christian times to Gothic cathedrals. The rationalistic and abstract imagination of the north, on meeting the sensualistic and imitative vision of the south, comes to the human level of ordered emotions and rhythmically composed representations, the contribution of the South, of which the human figure becomes the foremost carrier, very much like in the case of classical Greek art and of the Renaissance, yet with that deep and essential difference which Sir John Marshall rightly attributes to the spirituality inherent in the Indian soil. We hope to get a fuller exposition from Sir John Marshall, of the far-reaching problems dealt with in the lecture, which attacks race problems without race-consciousness and for the first time places Indian art into the context of the art of the world.

VI.—THE FEATURES OF INDO-JAVANESE IMAGES.*

By MARTHA A. MUUSSES.

THOUGH many critics have now begun to bestow on Indo-Javanese art the praise it so richly deserves, there yet exists a strong body of opinion which loves to accuse it of a lack of realism. When the critics of the latter type study the set faces and the stiff forms of the divine images of Java, they do not find anything natural or human in it. And in some sense their criticism is right; the Indo-Javanese art is not able to offer a single image comparable to the Greek images, which strive for the perfection of nature. But they entirely forget, that the intention of the Indo-Javanese Sculptor was quite different from that of his Greek brethern. When chiselling his statue it never occurred to him to try to correct nature or even to equal it. His only purpose was to carve out of the stone the intrinsic virtues of Shiva or the Buddha. In Greek sculpture we have to lay stress upon the outward appearance, while in the sculpture of India and Java, in the best periods, the emphasis is laid on the inner power, with which the face is illuminated. So that the images of best periods have meditative or introspective countenances; the material things do not disturb their divine equanimity. Hence the majority of the figures possess a similarity of mood, which by a superficial observer may be denoted as a mechanical uniformity. But it is really of the same kind of similarity which one perceives in other works of art of a given period; the Greek sculpture of the classic period, the Dutch art of painting of the seventeenth century—they too have a characteristic form, distinguishing them from all other works of art. May be the pieces show great differences when compared to each other, but when compared with other groups the relation is obvious. Up till now nobody has thought of accusing the classic sculpture of the Greeks or the Dutch painting of the seventeenth century of a patent inferiority born of a definite mood

* Translated from the Dutch by Mr. S. Koperberg.

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that comes to be expressed in these pieces(1).

Against Indo-Javanese art, however, the charge of monotony or of a lack of living forms, has often been brought. In such forms of criticism one underrates some of the component elements which combine to produce the resultant: the mentality of the artist. How important a function one may ascribe to the personality of an artist, no one can deny that the environments too play a great part in influencing the mind of the artist. And when we consider the environments in the widest sense, so as to include climate, religion, character and degree of civilisation of a nation, it is an undeniable fact that no living mind can get the better of the surrounding circumstances.

Would it be possible to place two men of quite the same temperament under different circumstances, the development of their artistic powers would be quite different. If a man of Rodin's temperament had lived in Central Java in the tenth century he would have sculptured statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the same style as those of Borobodur and Mendut. For, however much an artist may outgrow the limitations of his environments (in a narrow sense) his work always will depend on a combination of causes, which produce a certain manner of thing in a given time and a given situation.

(1) Recently, however, some of the admirers of Eastern art have been inclined to the idea that Western art has sacrificed spiritual values to outward forms and beauty and that it is therefore inferior to Eastern art, in which the religious inspiration is immediately transferred in a material form. This is the result of an appreciation of the so-called primitive art and a depreciation of the so-called classic art. For example, this view is expressed by Eric Gill in his preface to Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's "Visvakarma": "It is indeed desirable that what is at present called Classic should be called Decadent and what is now called Primitive should be called Classic. For, if by "Classical Period" we wish to denote the highest or best period, it is obvious that our current nomenclative is all wrong. The zenith of Greek art was reached long before the art of Phidias. By his time men had long since been seduced and deflowered by their own prowess and it was left for the modern world to praise them in their shame."

The work of the Indo-Javanese sculptors has therefore to be estimated from the nature of their environments in the widest sense of the term. The personal note may be ever so distinctive of its own period, the figures when compared mutually do not display as much differences as modern pieces. Besides we should not forget, that the majority of the bas-reliefs and images were made by craftsmen endowed with talent. This too is a cause which imports in these sculptures a certain amount of similarity. But when we earnestly endeavour to look beneath this surface, we quickly discover that the true artists among the sculptors have risen above the level of the average worker, whose equipment is not in proportion to his good will. In the best pieces something distinctive, something personal is always to be found in the beautiful lines of the body, the elegance of the most difficult *mudras*, the tender rounding of the cheeks, the vague smile expressing a wonderful joy.

When we proceed to criticise the forms of Indo-Javanese art these figures of the finest type must be the basis of our judgment; in judging the Dutch painting of the seventeenth century we think at least of Rembrandt and are not concerned with the smaller fries and the lesser gods. Similarly it is unjust to judge Indo-Javanese art from the many mediocre images of Middle and East Java and the inferior pieces of the late period of Majapahit. We must take into consideration the finest statues and upon them our final judgments must be based. In doing so we will be able to perceive that the artists have not neglected the chances offered by their opportunities but that they have reached the highest pinnacle within the limits set to them. The conditions of their circumstances have prevented them from creating works which could deviate further from the traditional forms. Their subjects were dedicated by the boundaries of religion; divine images, or bas-reliefs designed to narrate sacred stories and ornaments to decorate the temples.

Their love of life the artists could express in the reliefs and the ornamentation, but the images of the gods were too much bound by specific conditions; in the depicting of dresses and vestments only the sculptor

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could find scope for expression of some physical ideas. But in divine images he could bring to utterance his own serenity, his conception of the perishableness of all earthly things and of the unalterable permanence of the divine power. He could try to carve in the stone as objective suggestions for all and sundry, of the inner potency of the mighty Shiva in His self-contained dignity, whereas Buddhist worshipper could reveal in the forms of the Buddhas the profound mood of bliss acquired by the mind, in harmony with the humility and modesty of those who have found the supreme truth.

Can we discover these ideals in the images which time has spared to us ? We may answer this question in the affirmative, at the same time, a negative answer is offered to the question if we reproach the Indo-Javanese artists for their monotony. For it is only a question if they have realised the ideals they have aimed at. And this question we must answer in the positive, having regard to the numerous masterpieces that have survived. To this class belong in our opinion some of the Buddhas of Borobodur (not all), the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas in Tjandi Mendut, the Durga and the Prajnâpâramitâ from Singasari (in the Ethnographic Museum at Leyden) and some more less known figures. Most of these statues have been reproduced so often, that it is unnecessary for us to cite here any reproductions of them. We choose therefore three heads, not often published and yet ranking with the finest examples of Indo-Javanese sculpture.

Figure 1 is the head of a royal monk (from Tjandi Sewu, now in the Museum of Batavia) which can serve as an illustration of a fine and soberly chiselled visage. The devoted simplicity of this head is more expressive than the finest ornamented head with " mukuta ", hair dress, etc. and much more than the ideal Buddha-heads. Among the Buddhas which have been discovered, there are very few which reach the sublimity of this restrained portrait. Most of the Buddhas are made by craftsmen, but this one is the supreme work of the artist who knew how to handle his chisel and what he could do with the material, and who at the same time possessed the spiritual equipment capable of creating an aristocratic head like this.

Figure 2 is the head of a Maitreya statue from Tjandi Plaosan ; it is now in the Glyptothek at Copenhagen. The proud and yet sensitive expression, and the noble features have inspired Havell to this glowing passage, in his " Ideals of Indian Art." (See pl. XXVI) " This is a head which for its masterly generalisation of form and line might superficially be labelled Greek, but it is penetrated by a deep religious conviction totally different to that which inspired Hellenic ideals." We can feel that the sculptor in his generalisation was not content with formulating a type of physical perfection. He only used the formal beauty to reveal, as in a mirror, the pure soul of the Bodhisattvas ; the release from the bondage of intellectual and physical strife, the exaltation of the spirit, that is purified from the dross of the worldly desire, the penetration of a mind that sees through the veil of its earthly environments. It is a face, which incarnates the stillness of the depths of the ocean, the serenity of an azure, cloudless sky ; a beatitude beyond mortal ken. Yet in all its aloofness from human passion there is still some reflection of that divine compassion for struggling humanity which inspired the life and teachings of " Sâkya Muni ".

The third head which we cite here as an example of the artistic power of Indo-Javanese sculptors, comes from the Plateau of the Dieng. A series of these heads was placed in some of the niches adorning the roof of the Tjandi Bhima. Since they served as decorations only, the artist did not have to reckon with certain qualities to be expressed in the faces. The result of this liberty is a head with beautiful expression of strength ; a proud self-consciousness shines in this visage ; at no point is there any resemblance to the tender, dreamy head of the monk (Figure 1). The jaw-bones and the mouth bear witness to a strength of will and the technical skill of the artist. These features too express a noble mind, but more a contemplative one, but a mind wishing to play a leading part in the world and well able to stand this task.

Fig. 2. Maitreya, Tjandi Plaosan.

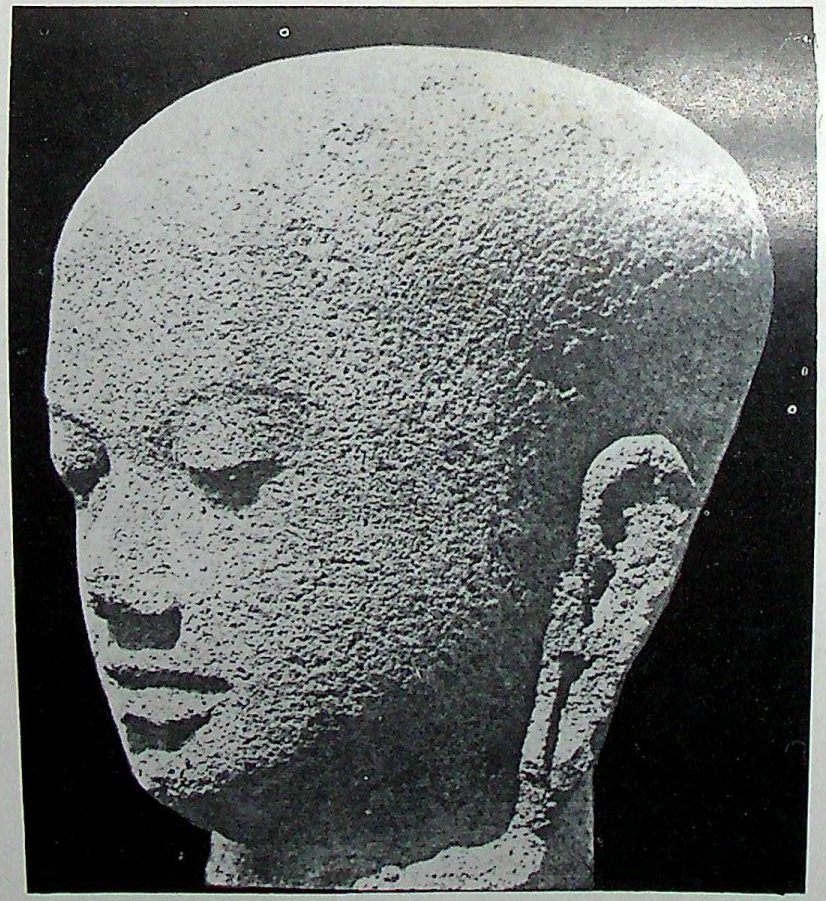

Fig. 1. Head of a Monk, Tjandi Sewu.

Fig. 3. Head, Tjandi Bhima.

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It will be obvious from what has been suggested at the beginnig of this article that the character of Indo-Javanese art was determined by the peculiar conditions and circumstances and that the sculptor has been unjustly accused of producing works of one monotonous pattern. The examples here reproduced will demonstrate, better than any verbal description, that the best pieces possess an indefinable charm which fills us with an emotion which chides us into silence.

VII.—STRAY THOUGHTS ON ARTS.*

By ASIT KUMAR HALDAR.

WHEN we look at pictures, our vision is always qualified by the surroundings amidst which we may happen to be placed at that particular time, our mental moods also lending their own colouring to it, and for this reason a picture which may touch the heart of one spectator with immediate directness, may fail to please the other altogether. It may, perhaps, be due to the same psychological truth which applies to that proverbial mistake—the mistake one makes, sometimes, of taking a rope for a serpent, or a serpent for a rope in a dark night. In fact, it is only the impress of the artist's mental state that is left on the picture he draws, and to realize that mental state in all its reality the spectator requires greater depth of thought than the artist himself.

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2. Just as without a proper unfoldment of certain faculties of perception one cannot fully realize the inner spirit and beauty of Nature, so it is in the case of pictures also, nay, to appreciate works of art even a greater degree of development and training are required in the æsthetic sensibilities of the mind. It is not possible, of course, to represent in pictures the quivering restlessness of the breeze or the harmonious blendings of light and shade that we find in the world of Nature, but the artist can give exact expression in his pictures to that thrilling softness of touch in the breeze, or that tremulous dancing of light on the leaves which gained instant access to his heart in the flash of a fleeting moment, and these he can invest with immortality and preserve for all eternity in his pictures. For this reason if we happen to see the portrait of a young man on a canvas we may be sure that he will never attain the old age which is brought about by the ceaseless change and flow of the material world, but remain there for evermore crowned in the springtime splendour of undying youth. So it is that pictures are silent, are reticent.

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3. The artist does not create with the help of his hands or his eyes only; his picture is the product of his mind; so, in judging pictures, instead of trying to find out the exact quantity of paint or the particular methods that the painter has used, it is far more essential to make sure as to how much of the artists's mind the pictures contain.

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4. All artists are self-forgetful. The more conscious an artist is of himself, the cruder and uglier his pictures are bound to become. The finer feelings and delicate sensibilities do not co-exist with an acute consciousness of self, they fold up their petals in fright, like the bashful mimosa, at the slightest possible touch.

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5. Nature holds up before us the finite which dwells in Infinity; but the artist represents the Infinite in terms of the finite within the bounds of colour and form. So Nature brings the endless blue sky, the boundless expanse of the sombre seas within the finite range of our vision, while the artist preaches the glory of the Infinite by enshrining in his works of art the eternal ideas suggested by Nature.

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6. An artist's pictures cannot be expected to effect an immediate reformation in the country or in the minds of the people by arousing inspiring thoughts as soon as they are finished; it is the steady and permanent influence which they exert on the people by instilling into their minds a sensitiveness for beauty and a habit of thoughtfulness which make them so invaluable for the country. And so it is that the older a picture grows the more precious it becomes. This value has nothing to do with the price of the painter's brush or his colours—its value is that of its depth.

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7. The flowers look quite beautiful as they blossom on the tree, but man can never feel satisfied till he has culled them and trimmed them and arranged them in the flower-vase and thus brought his own artistic instincts into play. Nature in its beauty and variety is beyond description, but so long as he has not been able to

* Translated from the original Bengali by Amiya Chandra Chakravarty.

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represent it to the public by creating it anew through his own mental process and given it the particular colouring of his own vision in works of art or literature, man can have no rest. So "Nature" and "Art" are united together by the same inner thread; the external difference which they may appear to possess is not anything real or essential.

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8. Everyone is looking at things, but how many are those who can really see? Innumerable are the plays of light and shade, sunshine and storm going on in this world of Nature, but how many are there who are given the opportunity of observing them with the inner sight which alone counts? This deeper message of Nature reaches the artists, who in their works of art, give expression to truths which lie beyond the range of vision or the reach of ordinary perception. (But this they do not do, of course, by trying to give exact photographic representation of Nature.).

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9. One cannot, in works of art, just say—"This person said this" or "That person did that and sat down there"—as they may do in literature, and go on explaining the statements of facts with ample and detailed foot notes. In this respect all pictures are still. They express their ideas definitely enough, though they may suggest many different kinds of thoughts in the minds of different spectators, but this they do mainly through the medium of suggestion. Pictures do not care for critical commentaries, nor do they require any external help to express themselves.

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10. Not less than ninety per cent. of our people, educated and uneducated, show a sort of blind partiality for western art—our own art seems to be an eyesore to them. But as a matter of fact, the greatest thing that we have to learn from the western artists is that they busy themselves with the western, that is, their own art, and do not, like us, dabble in matters which lie beyond one's sphere.

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11. Just as to be an efficient jeweller one needs a sound training about the detection of false stones from good ones, and a great deal of patience besides, so to understand pictures, also, one must possess a previous education, equally, if not more, thorough. Many people seem to think that works of art should be of such a kind as to charm the eyes of the beholder at first sight, but that this is a mistaken notion needs no telling. The vulgar eye is delighted with a gaudy display of colours, like children, who want nothing but coloured things; but as a matter of fact, works of art, the main aim of which is to attract attention, may be anything but they are not artistic. It is only the picture which passes the test of the jewel-expert in the realm of art—the art-critic, and survives the test, that can claim the name of art.

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12. When does a picture begin to live and move?— When the real connoisseur evokes the *Rasa* of his mind and brings to bear his whole faculty of thought and imagination in looking at a picture. Then the picture does not any more appear to be a mere collocation of lines and colours, he then realises the inner music, as it were, lying deep beyond the reach of all colours and forms, and the picture is understood at once, not as a particular grouping of external shapes and figures, but as an impress of a mood or an emotion expressed in a moment of inspiration.

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13. It is not possible to cling to the art of any particular place or periods as the ultimate standard or the final perfection of all artistic effort—because art can never arrive at an end; by the blessings of God, human creations like divine ones go on developing themselves in ways eternally new, and by indicating a final end to them, we simply take their life away.

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14. The artist crystallizes in his art a prticular mood of his mind by taking it away from the flowing stream of his thought, and his moment's mood thus enshrined in art never fails to inspire new emotions in the minds of spectators even after centuries have rolled away. The conception of building the Taj Mahal which, in some unremembered auspicious moment, first glimmered across the mind of the Emperor Shah Jehan like a dream in a moonlit night, resulted in the creation of a beauty that even to-day, after hundreds of years, never fails to bring fresh visions of delight to thousands of peoples from all parts of the world. It is here that art is eternal and universal.

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15. Some think that the creation of forms is the only aim of art, because pictures are naturally associated in our minds with the idea of forms; while others are of opinion that the chief function of pictures should be the expression of ideas. But the truth is, in pictures *Rasas* and ideas find their dwelling in forms,—thought and shape, like body and mind live in complete unity and co-operate in the production of an organic whole. It must be said, however, that the object of art is mainly in the representation of ideas, and not in the grouping of forms or figures.

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16. Art like literature is liable to degenerate into a mere riddle revelling in its incomprehensible

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complexity, if too many ideas are packed indiscriminately into it. So we find in the art-histories of the world that true artists from the oldest time have always attempted to express some one fundamental idea in their pictures or pieces of sculpture, and this idea has come out beautiful in its simplicity and completeness. But now-a-days, in the centres of modern European culture and civilization, forms and external shapes have attained such a degree of vagueness and complexity in the art of the new schools of painting, that really to get at the idea behind the pictures one requires prodigious powers of patience which are taxed to the utmost before one can possibly thread one's way through the labyrinths of ambiguous complexity spread out before one's eyes. Here it is the technique which has overpowered and submerged the creative aspect of art. For this reason one has seldom the chance, in the present age, of coming across anything so genuine, easy, and inspiring as the sculptures of Egypt or the pictures of old Italy.

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17. It is a fact that no real connection can be found between the personal life of the artist, and his art. The real essence of his personality finds its eternal expression in his pictures, and any attempted analysis of his personal affairs, for this purpose, is bound to be futile. The art of an artist is the most intimate introduction to his real life, the petty details of his daily doings can have no particular significance in this connection. There are many pieces of artistic creation renowned all over the world which give constant pleasure to millions of spectators, while the names of the artists who created them are hidden deep in the abyss of obscurity.

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18. Rhythm comes into play spontaneously when the human heart comes to be connected with Nature by an inner bond of intimate appreciation—it is then that the creations of man can possibly represent the finer spirit and beauty of God's own creation.

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19. Before the process of creation is complete, and so long as the artistic idea dwells within the mind of the artist, he can claim it as a personal possession, but directly it gains expression in a picture or a poem it becomes as much the property of the public as of the producer himself.

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20. The art of an artist reveals not only the essence of his own personality but that of the country or nation to which he belongs. So we find that whether it is because the primitive barbarian tribes worshipped ghosts, or whether it is due to their living amidst the many terrors and surprises of dense dark forests, it is the feeling of fear and wonderment which finds more frequent expression in their art than anything else. Their art was not mainly for religion or the creation of beauty, but gave shape chiefly to the many formless superstitions and other peculiarities of mental outlook which characterized them. For this reason monstrous figures and uncouth shapes, and the stripes and colour-combinations as on the skins of animals like tigers, recur pretty constantly in their schemes of artistic creation. These fit in well with their non-human propensities, and the jungle-life amidst which they passed their days.

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21. Grace and beauty are everywhere in the world of Nature appearing wherever we may happen to turn our eyes—in fruit and flower, sky and wind, or in the manifold play of light and shade; and the only aim of the true artist is to realize this beauty intimately and reveal it anew through his own creation. He does not attempt to collect it from all possible quarters, as it were, and give a detailed record of the same with accurate statistical figures like an official surveyor, he gives expression to it in the light of his own emotional experiences.

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22. The artist or the poet, though they may not have always proclaimed it in so many words, have been constantly expressing through their creative work the sentiment of universal love. It is because universal ideas spontaneously blossom out in their minds that they cannot bring themselves to create anything with the special object of pleasing a particular country or a group of people,—their message is meant for the audience-hall of the whole world. Raphael's painting, or Shakespeare's dramas are, for this reason being received with affectionate appreciation and fervent adoration, even to-day, by millions of all nations. Their creation has no ulterior end except the joy of creating itself, their work is not like that of the man of business whose aim it is to accumulate things for future use; it is rather the repayment to the world of the debt of happiness which it gave them so bountifully. Of course, there are those who produce humorous sketches or satires solely with the object of opening the eyes of the people to particular truths, but owing to the very fact that they are born with a specific purpose, and are the outcome of some current cause of excitement, these productions exhaust themselves within the narrow sphere of a particular place or period, and consequently have no more life-force left to them for any further activity.

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23. Rabindranath Tagore before he was honoured by the Nobel Prize once remarked to us that the language of the fine arts is a universal

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one, and also pointed out that there can be no real obstacle to people of any part of the world understanding it. It seems, otherwise in the case of literature where a poet can be appreciated only by people who know the language in which he writes, a fact that naturally makes many people miss the opportunity of appreciating him altogether. His creations are, therefore, obliged to remain confined within the bounds of the language and literature of his own motherland. In this respect the fine arts have a wider appeal. This, is true, but still we find that in the case of our own poet, his ideas, even through translations, have inspired millions of people all over the world,—a fact which goes to prove that like truth, or like fire which can never be kept hidden under the cover of ashes, genuine creative work also can never remain buried in the narrow limits of a particular language or land, but transcends all confines sooner or later, and shines resplendent in its original splendour before the enchanted eyes of the whole world.

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24. Artists are popularly described as worshippers of beauty. But if this is intended to indicate that they are concerned only with external figures and forms, then we must protest against this presumption; for artists worship that beauty only which they perceive in the light of their own inner vision, and this has hardly anything to do with things that generally attract the popular eye. To put it accurately, artists are not so much the worshippers of beauty as of *Rasa*, or the inner pervading spirit in an object.

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25. Wakefulness is the sign of life, while slumber signifies death. It is the poet and the artist, who in this world give the best evidence of this wakefulness. Their works of art and literary creation bear eternal tesimony to the truth of their having opened their eyes anew each day with the rising of the morning sun, and this the people of all ages are given the chance to test for themselves. The play of the seasons, spring and summer and monsoon—nothing is ever wasted for them, and as the song goes,* they would fain "fill their baskets with the fruits and flowers of all the seasons as they come and go," and keep an ever-awake receptiveness for all that life has to offer to us. As for the others, their days also pass, of course, but they pass mainly in counting them from day to day.

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26. "I like this" or "I do not like this at all"—it is the tendency of modern critics to utter either of these emphatic assertions immediately after looking at a picture. But this is, indeed, no real test for a picture, for the first sight may not be the auspicious one after all. There are pictures which appear attractive at first but fail to leave any abiding impression on the mind, while there are others which gradually grow into one's mind and thoughts the more one sees them, inspite of their inability to interest the eye instantaneously. On the whole, one of the best tests of the real worth of a picture is in the durability of the interest it produces, indeed, that indicates the idea of its real worth more than anything else. And this impression may settle in the mind not directly after one has seen a picture for the first time, but little by little, after one has looked at it many times and tried to understand its underlying motive.

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27. It does not do, merely, to carve a figure out of a block of stone, the spirit of life has to be infused therein to make it live. This infusion of life the artist effects by making the piece of sculpture radiate the glow of liveliness through the delicate contours of the face and the body. It is quite possible for a figure to seem rigid and motionless inspite of its possessing nicely designed wings, but the true artist can quite easily fashion a figure and make it fly or move without the necessity of endowing it with wings or even special gestures indicative of movement.

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28. Like all others, the artist also has a world of his own. Anyone can master after undergoing some course of memory-training the faculty of remembering the things that he sees, and of reproducing them in pictures with photographic accuracy; but the rare gift which distinguishes the real artist is the gift of recreating a thing in the atmosphere of his own personality, and giving it a permanent and artistic shape. Every artist has his own inner world whence he observes and where he receives the various manifestations and messages of life around him, and it is the difference which every artist possesses in his world of personality that makes it possible for art to preserve its inexhaustible variety and originality,—otherwise all pictures would drive one crazy with the maddening monotony of photographic representations.

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29. Whence does the artist get the world which he creates by himself? He gets the necessary materials for it from the realm of matter which finds entrance into his consciousness through his sense-experiences in the shape of sound and smell and sight. It would not be true to say that he is

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* From a song by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

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only receiving, or only giving away,—it is more like the negative and positive currents which in their unity give expression to one wholeness. The harmony of sounds which is eternally coming out from the heart of Nature becomes audible only when the artist's finger touches the strings. For this reason neither Nature nor the artist can create *Rasa* alone; for its production their mutual sympathy and co-operation is necessary.

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30. Having come to the seashore I realize today that land is not limited by its own boundary-line, but preserves itself by its union with water, which is no less elemental and true than land. There the water flies as a piece of cloud, ruffled by the wings of the birds which beat their way through it, fringed with the manifold melting colours of light,—it is out to cross the sea! And now its friendship with the land commences. Now it goes on giving itself in rivers and streams, passing through meadow and woodland, and touching the skirt of vale and hill on its onward way. Plants, trees, beasts and birds, men and women, all are filled with the surge of new life and saved as they come into contact with this vitalising nectar-like fluid. Men give themselves up to songs, birds begin their hymns of joy upon the leafy branches of greening trees. In the human habitations, and in the forests and glades this call of new life brings out hidden resources of joy, and the shine of happiness begins to gleam and glitter all around. Land is like the limiting lines of a picture, and the water its inner fluid-like idea, and it is the union of these two that fills the world of life with *Rasa*, with the spirit of beauty and harmony. And so it is that a picture which gives undue emphasis and prominence to its form and frame only, remains barren and lifeless like a desert, deserving every other name except that of art.

REVIEWS.

DIE BUDDHISTISCHE SPATANTIKE IN MITTELASIEN. BY A. V. LECOQ. ERSTER ERSTER TEIL (Vol. I). DIE PLASTIC, 43 PLATES (VERLAG DIETRICH REIMER BERLIN, 1922).

THIS sumptuous volume on the Buddhist antiquities of Central Asia by A. von. Lecoq with 45 big plates 50×60 cms. including 10 in colour deals with the results of the fourth Turfān expedition sent under the auspices of the Imperial Government of Germany. A. von. Lecoq has a brief introduction on the art of Gandhara and Eastern Turkestān. It has been well-known that the inhospitable tracts of Chinese Turkestān constituted once a flourishing kingdom and was situated on the highroad between India and China through the kingdom of Gandhara. The desiccation of Eastern Turkestān occurred after the tenth century A. D. This region forms an oblong basin surrounded on three sides by stupendous mountain chains and was probably an inland sea like the Caspian or the Ural Sea. All human habitation is at present impossible, for the incessant waves of sand-dunes and the total absence of water militate against all organic growth. The causes that brought about the desiccation of this once thickly populated territory are unknown. What is, however, known definitely is the evidence as regards its rich and varied culture evolved as a result of primarily Indian and secondarily of Hellenistic and Iranian influences. In the course of explorations by nations of various countries has been discovered a long chain of canals and irrigation channels constructed by people who once inhabited the desolate regions of today. Western scholars have been greatly interested in the progress of Hellenic influences through Asia and the hybrid art of Gandhara practically monopolised the attention of western scholars until recently. Grünwedel who was one of the pioneers in the study of Buddhist art was practically the originator of the four expeditions to Eastern Turkestān. The direct impulse, however, came from the lecture of Sir Aurel Stein delivered at the Oriental Congress at Hamburg in 1902 on the result of his expedition to Khotān and the first expedition to Turfān was undertaken by Prof. Grünwedel and Hutt in 1903. Subsequent expeditions materialised in 1904–5, 1905–7 and 1913–14. The present volume deals with the plastic acquisitions of the last expedition. Eastern Turkestān prior to its desiccation was not the home of nomadic tribes but was inhabited up to the eighth century by a mixed race of East Iranians, Yuè-Chis from the steppes of Mongoliā and possibly a branch of the Indian people. As was to be expected, Indian, Sassanian and Hellenistic influences jostled with one another in moulding the life of the people. China was still a borrower country in the realm of culture and consequently did not appreciably influence the life of the old kingdom of Khotān, and Eastern Turkestān; though the latter region came under Chinese dominion for a time under the Han

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dynasty in about 206 B.C. The keynote of popular culture in these regions remained Buddhist for over 800 years and Indian influence was, therefore, paramount in the intellectual and spiritual life of the people. The civilisation which had blossomed through many centuries came to an end through uncontrollable forces of Nature and Khotān and Eastern Turkestān became mere memories of the past to be revived by the efforts of archæologists. Islam did not penetrate the inaccessible territories of Kāshgar till the tenth and Khotān till the eleventh century. Eastern Turkestān is practically shut in from the surrounding regions by the stupendous ranges of Kwenlun mountains in the south, the windswept plateaus of the Pāmirs in the west and by the mountain chains of Tin Sain in the north. Natural obstacles, however great, do not seem to have operated as serious obstacles to religious zeal and missionary efforts in the past and the interchange of goods and ideas was brisk between the regions of Eastern and Middle Asia. Long before the establishment of the Bactrian kingdom by Diodotus in 250 B.C. Buddhism had crossed beyond the limits of India. The Hellenistic principalities which flourished in the North-West Frontier acknowledged the spiritual sway of Buddhism and all the resources of Hellenistic art were bent towards glorifying the cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The mixed Indo-Bactrian art flourished most in the region limited by the southern bank of the Kabul and the Hindu Kush. This was the kingdom of Gandhara, the vestibule to the plains of Hindustān from the world beyond. As Foucher describes it, Gandhara is "only a vast, gently undulating plain, bristling in places with rugged hills, and three parts encircled by a belt of fawn-coloured or bluish mountains, which nearly everywhere limit the horizon. But the opening left by them on the south-east over the Indus is the great gate of India; and to the west the winding Khyber pass remains the principal route of communication between the peninsula and the Asiatic continent." Here was Shalatur, the natal town of Pānini, the grammarian, and whence the renowned university of Takshasilā was only a three days' march. Buddhism had already conquered these outposts of Indian civilisation two centuries before Christ. The spiritual impulse of India was translated into visible form by the naturalistic genius of the Hellenes and a mixed art was already flourishing in the first century after Christ. The appeal of this eclectic art was popular and its basis was naturalism, sometimes of a very crude form. The higher note of emotion or of spiritualism was foreign to it and was but seldom found by the typical Gandhara artist. The Gandhara art developed from a partial fusion of Indian intellectualism and Hellenistic technique. The hybrid art which grew in these outlying provinces of Gandhara, Khotān, Udyāna, and Eastern Turkestān derived its inspiration from Indian traditions and Buddhist scriptures, though the medium and the technique differed according to the geographical environment and the character of the people. For over a thousand years, Hindustān was the mother of religions, whence spiritual light radiated in all directions. In the realm of intellectualism and culture she gave far more to her neighbours than she received from them. Wherever Buddhism had penetrated, Indian traditions reigned supreme. The Gandhara art attains greatness only in proportion as it assimilates the underlying spirit of Indian iconography. The crude naturalism of the Gandhara artist must have commanded a considerable market for its products merely because it was illustrative and appealed rather to the eye than to intelligence. If the nativity of the Buddha was the subject, the artist immediately depicted an infant with an aureole stepping out from the right side of Māyā. It did not matter if the mother of the Enlightened One was made to pose as a danseuse so long as the figure was prettily draped and the people liked it (See plate No. 14). The reclining figure wrapped up in sheets surrounded by a crowd of mourners was sufficient to represent the scene of *Mahaparinirvana* of the Master. (See plate No. 15) The artist was only concerned with the story and the illustration thereof. Spiritual emotion was generally foreign to the mercurial temperament and the superficial understanding of the Hellenes. The artists of Gandhara were engaged in catering for a market rather than in enriching the cultural heritage of the country. It was not this transitional and corrupt art of Gandhara that primarily inspired the arts of China and Japan and the Buddhist world of Asia in general. The long line of Chinese pilgrims from China from the fourth century to the tenth century A.D. went not to Gandhara but Hindustān to drink at the original springs of spiritual enlightenment. Lecoq has illustrated some typical specimens of the Gandhara art in seventeen large plates...One of the finest specimens is that representing the master sitting on a lion-throne. (See plate No. IV). The Indian influence is strikingly seen in the beautiful pose of the head. The detached heads illustrated in Plate No. 6 are also dominated by Indian traditions. The illustrative capacity of the Gandhara artist is effectively shown in a panel representing the Master in the attitude of preaching (Plate VII). It is noteworthy that while the Master and some of his audience are shown with their right shoulders and arms uncovered in the Indian fashion, some of his disciples are shown in the characteristics Gandharan draperies covering both the shoulders...The art of Eastern Turkestān was primarily local and popular. The Khotānese artist did not possess a suitable medium for his art, for there is no stone in Khotān or Eastern Turkestān and even chalk is available with difficulty. Consequently most of the sculptural finds of Eastern Turkestān are made form clay and wood. The clay

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was sometimes mixed with finely chopped straw and vegetable fibre. Even animal hair was sometimes mixed with finely moulded clay. In spite of these unsatisfactory and ephemeral materials, the results of religious zeal and artistic technique are sometimes astounding. The excellent preservation of these flimsy materials must be ascribed to the fairly rapid desiccation of these regions, and the consequent entombment in dry and impervious sand. The art of Eastern Turkestān is primitive and transitional and its interest is primarily archæological rather than æsthetic. I would suspect some of the heads which have been described by Lecoq as of *Devatas* and Brāhmans to be more in the way of actual portraits. (See Plates 18, 19, 21 and 22). Some of the Bodhisattvas are also probably taken from life ; for secular portraiture does not appear to have been by any means uncommon. I am particularly inclined to think the figure represented with a high-collared and singularly modern coat is a portrait of some king rather than a representation of an evil-spirit as described by the author. (Plate 28). It is but rarely that the art of Eastern Turkestān reaches a high level of æsthetic merit. The head of the Buddha executed in wood in Plate No. 42 though of moderate quality is about the best specimen of this school. The charmingly coloured figure of the sitting Buddha (Plate 40) is remarkable for the Sassanian influence clearly noticeable in the delineation at the base of the lotus throne of legendary animals characteristic of Persia. The treatment of the hair and the flowing robes is reminiscent of Hellenic influence ; the expression of the face with its half-closed eyes and the Urnā in the shape of a jewel on the forehead testifies to Indian inspiration; while the cast of the features is somewhat Mongolian. Lecoq seems to atttach far too much importance to the influence of the Gandhara art over the Buddhist art of Central Asia. Western scholars find it very difficult to shake off the prejudices of their upbringings, and correctly to appraise the development of an art with outlook and traditions different from those of Hellas. In determining the relation between the Indian and the Gandharan art, it is primarily a question of emphasis on one aspect or the other of artistic composition. Indian influence is undoubtedly paramount so far as the idea is concerned while the technique is generally dominated, especially in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, by Hellenistic influences. The intellectual and spiritual impulse of Buddhist Asia originated in the Lumbini gardens of Kapila and the peoples who embraced the gospel of Amitābha, of infinite light found their inspiration in the land of the Sacred Traces in the kingdom of Magadha and not in the outlying provinces of Gandhara and Udyāna. The Masters of Nālanda Ujjaini and Takshasilā authoritatively laid down the correct doctrine of Buddhist philosophy, worship and iconography. The versatile craftsmen of Indo-Bactria had a much more limited and congenial task suited to their peculiar genius of producing ware for the market-place in accordance with Indian ideas as imbibed and understood by them. The measure of their achievement lay exactly in proportion to their right comprehension of the Indian canon. From its very nature, the Gandhara art was incapable of producing original offshoots which would take root in alien lands. The whole structure of Gandhara statuary in all its varied opulence rested fundamentally on Indian foundations. The Gandhara art was, therefore, incapable of developing into something vital and of permanent importance. As Lecoq has himself pointed out, the whole object of this art was the production of a pretty object, and no great art has ever flourished on such slender intellectual foundations. We look forward with interest to the three forthcoming volumes which are promised to us in continuation of the present series illustrating the frescoes and Manichæan miniatures found in Eastern Turkestān.

Terra-cotta Figure from Schor-tschug.

N. C. MEHTA.

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BRONZES KHMERS PAR GEORGE COEDES. *ARS ASIATICA* TOME V. 51 COLLOTYPE PLATES. G. VAN OEST ET CIE, PARIS, 1923. PRICE 100 fr.

THE publication of a new volume in the *Ars Asiatica* series has now come to be regarded as an event of singular interest to students of eastern art. The last two volumes which we had occasion to review in these columns (No. 8, p. 33 and Nos. 15 and 16, p. 41) have been quickly followed by the fifth volume now before us. The earlier volumes have, indeed, taught us to look forward to each new volume as the opening of a new and unknown vista in the variegated panorama of Oriental art. For students of western art they offer new surprises, for students of eastern art they fulfil cherished expectations. The inauguration of this series under the able direction of Dr. Victor Golloubew, is itself a signal testimony to the liberality of French outlook in art, and the authoritative treatment of each subject introduced by each new volume, presents the quality and character of each phase of Asiatic art in a manner to command an unbiassed and yet an enthusiastic appreciation of its qualities. The series offers authoritative documents for an examination of the claims of the Asiatic genius in art. With the exception of Volume IV, all the volumes published up to now are confined to the Far Eastern phases. It is hoped, however, as the plans designed by the Director indicate, that the Indian and the Indonesian phases will receive adequate representation. Indeed, the volume before us treats of a subject which is more related to Indian and Indonesian art than that of the Far East proper. It is a monograph devoted to an interesting and little known branch of Cambodian art,—the architectural glories of which are one of the wonders of the world. The author of this volume is the distinguished French savant, M. George Coedès, the Conservateur of the Bangkok Library to whose contribution Indo-Chinese epigraphy is so heavily indebted. We find the author of the monograph on "Le Royaume de Crivijaya" in a new role. The author is not altogether new to his subject, as he has already made some contributions to a phase of it in his "Catalogue de sculpture Khmèr" (Bulletin de La Commission Archeologique de L'Indochine, 1910). In the present monograph the author deals with the bronze images—or what are locally called as "tâmra devarupa" fashioned by Khmèr artists. The specimens on which he has based his study have been drawn from various sources, principally from the private and public collections of Bangkok, of the Palais Royale of Phnom-penh and of the Museums of Cambodge and L'Ecole Francaise. The subject has been touched upon by earlier writers, e.g., Fournerau, Foucher, recently by Dr. Voretzsch and M. Groslier but it now receives something like an adequate treatment from the author. The subject is yet unsurveyed and the author does not claim to treat it exhaustively. He, however, lays the foundation for further studies and the materials actually put forth are of considerable interest. His study, for the first time, offers accurate indications for distinguishing Khmèr bronzes from Siamese ones with which they are frequently found and sometimes confounded. Many of the characteristic specimens have actually gravitated to Bangkok. They may have come from the Eastern and Northern Provinces of Siam which at one time formed part of the Khmèr kingdom and some may have been annexed by the Siamese in their victorious wars with the Cambodians. The figurines cast in bronzes chiefly represent the principal divinities of the Brahminic and Buddhist pantheon. Although their actual uses are not attested by any inscription, they may have been used, as M. Coedès suggest, as *Kuladevatas* in the domestic shrine or as *utsavamurtis* in processions, as in India. The inscription of Jayavarman VII at Ta Prohm records that at the annual spring festival, homages were rendered to 629 images in the temple and they were, most probably, statuettes in bronzes. The alloy of which the material is composed, is generally known as *Samrit* or *thong tu'o'ng*. They are of two different types—one blackish in tone and the other taking a cover of green patina. M. Coedès cites from a treatise in the National Library of Bangkok, called "Tâmra devarup"—the formula of the bronze alloy to which the Khmèr practice conforms, viz., *navaloha* (amalgam of nine metals: 9 parts gold, 8 parts silver, 7 copper, 6 zinc, .5 mercury, .4 of tin, 3 of iron, 2 of bismuth and 1 of lead). This seems to be identical with the formula in a Siamese treatise on the founding of the image of the Buddha—which also gives two other recipes called "Sattaloha" and "Panchaloha". In a miscellaneous collection of images, the discrimination of Khmèr pieces is comparatively easy—as the type is uniform and contrasts with the Indian, Javanese and Siamese types. The visage alone is sufficient to indicate the distinction. The face in Khmèr statuettes is short and nearly round and very different from the Siamese pieces in which the face is oval and elongated. The "superciliary arcades" are quite a little arched and do not present that excessive curvature which gives to the Siamese statues that expression of "stupefied astonishment". The torso is, perhaps, the most differentiating feature. M. Coedès does not claim for his subjects any high standard of beauty in comparison with Indian or Javanese statues. "The Khmèr bronzes never present that 'poignancy' which is frequent in India and Java—they are sometimes gracious but they miss the rhythmic motion so characteristic of the statuettes of the two countries." Our author, endorses the view of M. Groslier as to the derivation of the canons of the Cambodian statuettes from their Indian prototypes: "The

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Khmèr statuary is certainly not indigenous. The cults—both Buddhistic and Brahminical—coming from India with their idols—dictated to the Khmèr sculptors—the manner of shaping a Deva with all the rules invented with rigorous formalism. The sculptors do not obey the Indian canon with absolute fidelity. Generally speaking the 'uttama or madhyama dasatāla' governs the torsos of the Khmèr statuettes—their thighs are always shorter than the Indian; they lose 10 to 12 angulas mostly in the figures of dancing *apsaras*. At the end of the knee the correspondence between the canons of the two countries cease. The features of the Cambodian bronze figures give them a sort of family resemblance, characterised by a certain inflexibility in the pose—by the simplicity of drawing—which leaves the upper torsos free. In their calm expression—they take an heiratic character—sweet or smiling without ever impugning the musculariety of human form." They hardly approach the refined generalisation of the Indian artistic anatomy which invariably suppresses the individuality of muscles and joints. M. Coedès very cautiously suggests that the date of these statuettes or their relative chronology is impossible to determine. Their similarity with certain statues in stone permit only to affirm that they are contemporaneous and consequently relate to the period comprised between the eighth century and the fourteenth—with a certain margin—since the images of Siva and Vishnu, found at Kam-beng Bejr and representing the Khmèr classic type were perhaps cast at the beginning of the sixteenth century. We are not inclined to agree with the author to accept these images as bearing characteristic features of Khmèr classic art. More probably they are the Siamese reproductions of older Khmèr images. As M. Coedés suggests, an attentive comparison between the bronze statuettes and the bas-reliefs of Cambodia should yield interesting chronological deductions. As, for example, one cannot help affirming a close resemblance between the gracious divinity of Plate VII and those of certain images of the Bayon temple at Angkor Thom. It is not improbable that this statuette dates from the ninth or the tenth century. Even if they cannot be always accurately dated, they are easily grouped according to their plastic styles, and iconographic features. Indeed the chief interest of the images lie in the new iconographic types that they offer and which are difficult to relate with forms known in India. Some of them are, indeed, difficult to identify. But for the extremely fortunate inscription on the pedestal, it would have been difficult to identify the peculiarly conceived image with twenty-two hands and eleven heads as a representation of Prajnâpâramitâ. (Plate XXXV, 1). It does not, however, represent a new iconographic development on Cambodian soil. Mr. N. D. Banerjee of the Archæological Department, Western Circle, has actually discovered in Rewa (Gungi màsaun) a stone image of Prajnâpâramita with four heads and twelve hands. The manner of posing these multiple hands in the Khmèr specimens illustrated in this volume offers a peculiarity which recalls an Indian canon. To none of the multiple hands separate shoulders are given, in actual obedience to a text which enjoins ; "bâhunâm yatra bâhulyam na tatra skandavedanam." The typical Vishnu and Siva images—of which very characteristic examples are cited—are easy to distinguish. The image seated in Yogāsana on a serpent which furnishes a cover by its hoods—is a very difficult iconographic problem for which M. Coedès tries to find an interesting solution. They are certainly distinguished by reason of their ornaments and head-gear from the types of the Buddha protected by Muchlinda. M. Coedès explains away the ornaments and coronets which

Khmér Bronze : Hevajra.

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are, obviously, out of place in a Buddha figure, and claims the type as Buddhistic. But the two types, occurring side by side in Buddhistic images in Cambodia must be taken to represent two distinct conceptions. We are inclined to identify this type as the *adimurti* form of Visnu. He is sometimes conceived as resting on the bed of the serpent "Ananta" in the ocean and sometimes seated in meditation ("Sa esha Bhagavân Vishnu samudre tapyte tapah.") The type of seated figures with a hammer or a rule in hand should be taken to represent a master craftsman (a sthapati) rather than the divine architect Visvakarmâ himself who has a different iconological form. The identification of the figure riding on a lion (Plate XVI, 2) as that of Indra is not perhaps happy. In Cambodia, as in India, Indra is invariably represented with elephant as his mount (*vide* Plate IV, 3. Finot: Notes d'Archeologie Cambodgienne, B.C.A.I., 1911, p. 183.) We should have liked M. Coedès to have discussed the significance of the presence of actual south Indian bronze images in the groups of Khmèr and Siamese statues (*vide* B.C.A.I., 1909 fig. 11) particularly the image of Vignesa with a Tamil inscription (*vide* B.C.A.I., 1912, p. 16.) Of the Buddhist types, some of the Vajrasattva images (e.g., Plate XXVII, 2) actually repeat the forms of Nepalese and Javanese examples, while others conform to a local type. They raise very interesting questions as to the relation of the development of local iconography to the Indian prototypes. Apart from iconographic interest some of the images offer forms of considerable plastic beauty. Of special interest are the realistic head of a Yogi (Plate I, fig. 1) image of Devi (Plate VII) seated figure of Shiva (Plate VIII) the somewhat naively conceived Dancing Shiva (Plate XIII) the types of *apsara* (Plate XIX) and the Hevajra (Plate XXX (which we reproduce on the previous page) the last of which certainly recalls the rhythmic movement of some of the best Indian Natarājas. The two interesting examples from the Malaya Peninsula, (Plate XLVII), discovered at Jaiya offer very instructive comparisons with Indian and Javanese types. The examples of Khmèr bronzes collected in this volume in a series of fifty-one beautifully executed collotype plates offer very valuable materials for an important phase of Cambodian art and the author deserves our congratulation for a very useful contribution to a phase of Indonesian art which has received very scant attention up to date. The volume fully maintains the standard of the previous publication in this series.

O. C. G.

EXAMPLES OF INDIAN SCULPTURE AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. TWELVE COLLOTYPE PLATES SELECTED BY LAURENCE BINYON. WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN AND A FOREWORD BY SIR HERCULES READ.

PUBLISHED BY THE INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON. PRICE 30 SHILLINGS.

NO less than three eminent scholars have collaborated in the production of this slender volume containing twelve ordinary collotype plates and priced extravagantly at £1|10. Sir Hercules Read has contributed a brief foreword, Mr. Binyon has chosen the eight stone sculptures and three bronzes reproduced here, while Mr. Rothenstein has written a short but fascinating introduction. Most of the specimens illustrated in this book have been well-known to students of Indian art, for instance, the Sānchi Yakshini, the Boro-Budur Buddha, the lovely Ceylonese bronzes of Pattini Devi and the Amitābha Buddha, and the granite Nandi (Plates 1, 2, 9, 10, 11 & 12). Thus though there is not very much of new material, the book is to be welcomed as an indication of the growing interest of the English public in the æsthetic side of our plastic arts. But it must not be imagined that the average European with his overwhelmingly classical bias has very much of sympathy or appreciation of Indian religious sculptures. In this understanding of eastern art, he does not differ to any great extent from the average Philistine of our universities. Here are a few samples culled from a recent manual (published in 1922) on Greek art and architecture from the pens of Percy Gardner, Professor of Archæology at the University of Oxford, and Sir Reginald Blomfield: "In art," says Professor Gardner, "our achievements have been but moderate; and at the present time a loving sense of art is probably rarer among us, than in any highly civilised country except America. But for ancient Greece, the art of Europe would to-day be on much the same level as the fantastic and degraded art of India. And but for the continued influence of Greek art, that of Europe would continually be in danger of drifting into chaotic extravagance." "The art of the East and the art of the West," says Sir Reginald Blomfield, "never really fused. There is a difference in kind between the joyous vitality of pure Greek art, and the gloomy vision of Asia, with its craving for the vast and terrible, its sombre imagination, its lack of humanity and indifference to the individual." Though Professor Rothenstein says, "we have rid ourselves of many prejudices, and are aware that great art has flourished in every civilisation, not in that of Greece alone"; the attitude of the ordinary classical scholar is summed up in the dictum of Sir Reginald Blomfield that the secret of the beauty of abstract form and perfect harmony was "revealed to the Greeks alone among the peoples of the world—and to them for only a transient period of their history." The India Society is, therefore, to be congratulated on publishing the small but fairly representative selection illustrative of India's past in religion and

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art. The figure of Saraswati (Plate IV) published, I believe, for the first time is one of the best representations of the Goddess of Learning. She is figured with her right leg hanging down and holding the traditional symbols of a rosary (Akshamālā) and a book in her upper right hand respectively. The Hamsa—the swan is put in the foreground and is depicted with an exquisite reserve and dignity. The Goddess herself is consummately portrayed in a rapt attitude as if intoxicated by the melodious strains of her divine instrument. The pose of the hands lightly fingering the Veenā is altogether admirable. It is unnecessary to comment on such well-known works as the Trincomali bronze of Pattinidevi and the Javanese head of the Buddha. Professor Rothenstein is right that the features of the Boro-Budur Buddha, "lack the breadth and precision of form so striking in the best Indian carvings." Professor Rothenstein remarks that, "It is now generally recognised that the dignity and beauty of ancient sculptures do not depend on the comeliness so happily expressed in many of the Greek figures in bronze or marble." Not infrequently, however, is this subordinate quality of "comeliness" looked upon as the very foundation of all artistic expression and every representation that falls short of being "natural" and "beautiful" is regarded as "monstrous" if not "indecent". Hence the criticism of a classical scholar like Professor Gardner; "A Western mind can have little sympathy with the art which has moved most on mystic lines, the art of India, which in such efforts has abandoned the search for beauty, and so given up the really artistic point of view." Thus, while the pictorial arts of Hindustan have been readily understood and even appreciated by western students, there has been but a slow awakening to the æsthetic merits of Indian iconographic sculptures. The Indian sculptor has always been primarily a temple-worker and his art has been closely and at times even rigidly governed by the hieratic canons laid down by writers of Shilpa-sāstras and other technical works. The dependence of the craftsman for his intellectual stimulus and inspiration on the lugubrations of the thinker and the philosopher has been far greater in India than anywhere else in the world. While such a relationship gives but little scope for expression of individual vagaries and naturally fosters the development of fundamental forms representing and in a way epitomising the cultural experience of the race, it also explains the extreme stability and intellectual cohesion of Indian art-traditions. This subtle bond of unity between the artist and the philosopher has been responsible for the amazing development of the vocabulary artistic symbolism and conventions. Every pose and gesture, every flexion and turn of the body, even the varieties of the limbs themselves were studied, classified, labelled, and used for purposes of artistic expression. The plastic arts of India are, therefore, addressed to the connoisseur and not to the amateur. The sculptor aims at expressing his ideal and emotional interpretation of religious and iconographic motives through the medium of traditional forms and formulæ and his art is to be judged accordingly. The collaboration of the thinker and the artist, though strange and even anomalous according to western notions, has been nevertheless responsible for the predominantly conceptual character of our plastic arts and their characteristic qualities of originality and inventiveness. It was the combination of artistic intuition and intellectual analysis which rendered possible the development of such supreme conceptions as that of the Buddha and the Natarāja. "This concrete crystallisation of a spiritual mood" as illustrated in the representation of the Buddha signifying ineffable calm and perfect repose transcending worldly joys and sorrows, "was developed into a form so perfect and inevitable, that it remains, after more than 2,000 years, one of the most inspiring and satisfying symbols created by man." "In a flash of intuition the perception of the eternal cosmic harmony was shown in the image of Siva as the Divine Dancer." "There is a third conception, the interpretation in material form of a moment midway between movement and tranquillity, a pause of ecstasy and illumination, perfected by the genius of southern India." Professor Rothenstein refers here to the graceful bronzes of Sundarmurti Swāmi. Nowhere in the world was the artist more successful in delineating the swiftness and precision of dramatic movement in flowing curves of astonishing beauty and apparent ease as in India. The Indian sculptor did not need a pair of wings to symbolise the gliding movement of heavenly beings. He was content to have his Apsarās and Gandharvas without this additional equipment; nevertheless how exquisitely are these swaying figures poised, glowing with all the charm of their sensuous limbs. The Hindu artist was as sensitive as any other to the beauty of line and form and Professor Rothenstein has truly remarked that "An impulse towards a high finish of workmanship lies deep within the conscience of every artist. It is relinquished only when he finds it incompatible with the vigorous life he feels impelled to give his creations. At his most exalted moments he seemed to precipitate his forms into the womb of Nature herself, so impressed are his figures with the marks of her own creative perfection." Considering the quality of the illustrations this "modest album" is priced at least three times as much as it should have been. We make this criticism because the plastic arts of India still need to be widely known before they can be properly appreciated and it would have been better if the British Museum had followed the lead of the Victoria and Albert Museum in bringing out a reasonably priced publication on Indian art. The descriptions given with the list of plates are unfortunately not accurate and far

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from being scholarly. The Saraswati (Plate IV) cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. There are no reasons for supposing the pair of figures (Plate V) as Damayanti. They belong to the school of Orissa not to Mathura. Avalokiteswara (Plate XI) is not a beneficent form of Shiva.

N. C. M.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc., KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMADAN ART IN THE MUSEUM. PARTS I AND II. (150 PP. LETTERPRESS AND 86 PAGES OF PLATES.) PRICE £1 14s. 6d. BOSTON, 1923.

CLOSELY following on the publication of the Portfolio of Indian art recently published by the Boston Museum, we are glad to welcome the Parts I and II of the Catalogue of Indian collections in the same museum. The latter has the unique distinction of being the first museum in America to form an adequate and representative collection of Indian art in that distant part of the world. Its example has been quickly followed by other museums, but they are hardly able to rival the rich and varied treasures of Indian art which the Boston Museum is so fortunate to possess. In the present publication all the sculptures in the collection are numbered and described by short notes accompanied by half tone illustrations of each piece. The list of sculptures is preceded by a General Introduction, giving the history of Indian theistic development, the philosophic history of the cults and the mythology with a short chronology and an excellent bibliography. A short history of Indian sculpture is appended, which succintly and ably sets forth the story of the development of Indian sculpture in firm outlines. In the chronology there is a slight inaccuracy as to the dates of the earliest inscription in Champa, which go as far back as third century A.D. Following Vincent Smith, Dr. Coomaraswamy, accepts, without citing adequate reasons, Mr. Jayswal's identification of the Parkham statue as that of Kunika Ajatsatru. Basing on the data of the legend given the Chitralakshana, the author derives the origin of Indian sculpture from the cult of the dead—the necessity of preserving an image as a substitute for the dead or the absent person. The author rightly points out the figure of Shiva at Gudimallam as the earliest extant Brahminical sculpture. He, however, inclines to the views of Foucher—that the image of Gaja Lakshmi or Sri at Sanchi may be of Buddhist significance. We are glad to notice that the author insists on the fact "that figures of Buddha existed before the Gandhara sculptures." According to the author "Gupta sculpture, in the main, unmistakably represents a development of the old Indian art already recognised in the archaic images of the pre-mayurian period and the animistic art of Mathura, traces of western influences are scarcely to be recognised after 400 A.D." The author does not specify the western influences one of which he cites in the Persian features of the Sarnath column of Ashoka. The zenith of Indian sculpture is put according to one view at the Gupta period, and according to another view at the early mediæval or classic period of the seventh and eighth centuries. "Nothing, however, surpasses the 'Buddhist Primitives' of Amaravati and Ceylon and the Pre-mayurian figures. The tendency of future criticism will be to push further and further back into the centuries preceding the Kusana period, our dating of the most powerful and creative impulses in Indian art. In the technical accomplishment and deliberate suavity of Gupta and Early Mediæval art there is rather to be recognised refinement than the evidence of an immediate and imperative experience. By contract with the earliest Indian art it is typically learned and conscious even when it seems most spontaneous." The treatment of Nepalese sculpture is very meagre in the author's "history" section. This school is the most misunderstood of all varieties of Indian sculpture and requires further elucidation, the question of chronology being most controversial. The four examples of Nepalese sculpture, unique specimens of their kind, the author tentatively assigns to the ninth or tenth century, apparently relating them to the Vishnu images from Rangpur. If we compare the specimens of Bengal copper images (as the author does in Plate XI of his Introduction to Indian art, Asian Library, Vol. IX, Madras, 1923), apart from a general consanguinity, which relates all schools of Indian sculptures, the divergence in the conception as in the style is very obvious. This is all the more surprising as the close relationship with Bengal art in the sphere of painting is so striking and evident. The divergence in the style of sculpture may; perhaps, be explained by the fact that the Nepalese school develops an unbroken continuity long after the Bengal school had died out. It is somewhat hazardous to date any of the Nepalese specimens hitherto discovered, as early as the ninth century. We are glad, however, to notice that Dr. Coomaraswamy asserts with some decision that "Tibetan art is directly derived from Nepal." In the recent publications bearing on the Stein Exploration, Nepalese art has received very left-handed treatment, and some authoritative protest has been called for. Turning to the quality and the variety of the specimens of Indian sculptures put together in the Boston Museum it is somewhat surprising to find that with the exception of a few gaps, e.g., Mayurian, Pre-mayurian and the Pallava Schools, practically the whole range is covered by actual examples. The early schools of Amaravati, Sunga, Andhra and Kushan are well represented. A very interesting red sandstone railing pillar with lotus rosettes, from Alighar district (p. 50) is very closely related to similar

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pieces at Sanchi. The battered marble head of Buddha from Amaravati (Plate VII) is a valuable piece of document as an Indian counterpart to the foreign types of Gandhara. The standing bronze figure of Buddha of the Gupta period at one time wrongly ascribed to Burma (Plate XXI) is also of singular interest demanding comparison with the Badulla and the Dong-Du'ong images. The three-faced image of Vishnu (Plate XIX) of the fifth century (?) is a very striking piece and of unique iconographic interest. But the richest section of the sculpture is the magnificent series of southern Indian copper images which have been added two years ago. The Cambodian and Siamese pieces come next in their quality and variety of types—the dancing apsara (reproduced in this number p. 68) the Buddha head (Plate XIII) are unique specimens of their kinds. Some of the late Brahminical fragments, chiefly architectural ornaments (Plates LXIX & XXVI), offer surprising qualities of rhythm and passionate intensity. Another piece, attributed by the author to Further India (Bronze Avalokiteswara, Plate LXXXIV) is of singular interest and bristles with data of the history of Indian sculpture outside India, which we propose to study in these pages in a future number. Few museum collections are so fortunate as the present one, to boast of a catalogue so carefully classified and authoritatively presented as this scholarly publication which we feel proud to recommend to all students of Indian art. We would offer the following items to be added to the bibliography which is all but exhaustive: (1) William Cohn "Indischer Kunstmmslungen" in the "Der Samler." N. J. Vorobjeb: "Catalogue d'une collection de Statuettes Bouddhiques acquises au Siam en 1906" St. Petersburg. Collection Paul Mallon. Arun Sen: "Mayuriana" Indian Antiquary, December, 1918.

O. C. G.

ERNST DIEZ: EINFUHRUNG NE DIE KUNST DES OSTENS, AVALUN VERLAG; WIEN-HELLERAU.

THIS introduction to the art of the Far East has the merit of conciseness. A valuable survey is given of the vast material of architecture, sculpture and applied arts, and also of the theories of ancient Far Eastern fame, as well as of present day Western reputation. The treatment follows the system of Professor Strzygowski, viewing the entire artistic output of a civilisation from the materials used and techniques employed, from the subject matter, from its relation to nature and its being indebted to, or fettered by tradition, from its significant form, comprising the idioms of composition in line, surface and cube; in space; in light and shade and in colour and finally from the inner meaning infused into the subject matter, to which all the elements of significant form are subservient. In this way a dense network of interpretation is gained out of which no quality and no guiding motif can escape and as the solution from artistic and literary sources is made in this book with discrimination and care, the introduction is imported and lucid in its rendering. The note to the plates give the informations about the particular illustration with which the text, treated in a general and broad way cannot furnish us. The plates themselves are representative of the branches and periods of Far Eastern art which they illustrate.

S. K.

"INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ART." By DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, ADYAR, MADRAS. PRICE: Rs. 3-8-0.

DR. COOMARASWAMY, in producing this useful little volume, has laid all lovers of Indian Art under a deep sense of gratitude. He has traced the development of Indian art from the seventh century B.C. down to the latest period of Rajput painting. All the different periods of sculpture and painting are carefully exhibited as one continuous development of a living tradition. Indian art is throughout pervaded with devotion "Bhakti," which found expression in the spiritual types of Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas and the dancing Shivas in stone, bronze, and copper as the expression of vibrant energy, and rythmic motion,—the cosmic dance of the universe. It was this intellectual quality of universal synthesis in Indian ideals, that inspired the arts of all Asia, especially those of China, Japan, and Indo-China. The Hindu mind is permeated with the world-spiritual, with the mood of the eternal, the infinite. Devotion and austerity of his creed are the very basis of all his activities. In ancient times an artist before commencing his works, recited certain "Mantras" invoking the help of God. An art at once so spiritual, and heavenly, necessarily overlooked the ephemeral, but confined itself to the spiritual for the attainment of "Nirvana." "Though Sanscrit literature gives vistas of a great Aryan civilisation planted in India several millennia before the Christian era, the evidence of artistic evolution, which may lie buried on the sites of ancient India, sites such as, Ajodhia, Mathura, Kanauj, etc., has not yet been unearthed. Indian archæological researches have not gone beyond the third century B.C." Thus, wrote Mr. E. B. Havell in his "Handbook on Indian Art" in 1920. Dr. Coomaraswamy, however (accepting the conclusions of Mr. Jayswal without giving reasons), refers to the "Parkham statue" of the Mathura Museum, which bears according to recent readings of inscription reference to Kunika Ajatsatru of the Saisunaga dynasty who died in 618 B.C. He suggests that this early

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art had a long anterior development in wood or other perishable material and which represents the genuinely primitive aspect of Indian art. The sense of this art is not imaginative but powerfully material. Neither philosophic introspection, nor passionate devotion has yet affected art. It would be indeed surprising, says Dr. Coomaraswamy, if the most powerful and original elements of this art, destined to remain prepotent for a millennium and of the great spiritual crisis. No lesser material force than this, no less complete and pure an acceptance of physical existence, could have been a surer foundation for the Great Enlightenment. The doctrines of Karma and Samsâra had advanced the belief that the salvation or spiritual freedom could only be attained with the immediate experience of spiritual truth not through the Vedic ritual nor by works. The meaning of life was only to be found in the knowledge of the self, in the identification of all that is known with the knowing subject. This was a revolution that determined the whole subsequent development of Indian civilisation, alike in content and form. As such, it finds its first and purest expression in the Upanisads and later in Buddhism, Jainism and other individual systems. None of these systems, he says, implied a cult of personal divinities, still less did they require a use of images. Buddha even condemns the presentation of the Dhamma in an attractive literary form. It was only at a much later date that there was a conscious expression of spiritual ideas through plastic art. At Bharhut and Sanchi we find the beginnings of Buddhist art. These stupas were of Vedic origins. The old Aryans built these of perishable materials; hence there are not examples extant. Mr. Havell supports the view that the art of Bharhut, Sanchi and Karli is the direct offspring of Indo-Aryan culture. The appearance of Hindu sculpture and architecture in the Kusan and early Gupta period, even in the absence of all other evidence, would prove a lengthy previous development. Even some of the symbols carved at Bharhut and Sanchi are Hindu; though some are new inventions. Figure 7 "Siva Lingam" reproduced by Dr. Coomaraswamy opposite page 34, is a striking example of the continuation of Pre-Mayurian and Bharhut art, and as Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests, is a link that connects older Indian art with that of Mayurian and Bharhut. This figure is very powerful in its appeal, and it was not the product of an individual but was the result of an age-long tradition of the Aryans who had a more powerful and a more stately art several centuries earlier than these Buddhist stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi. The Gudimallam Siva, however, appears to us a little sophisticated and self-conscious. It must have had an earlier phase of which examples may yet be discovered. Referring to Gandhara sculpture Dr. Coomaraswamy says that the quality of the art is effeminate and sensual, its intention, realistic. Although Gandhara art exerted a considerable influence on the contemporary school at Mathura and to a less degree elsewhere in India proper, even extending to the south. But he says we must not misunderstand the nature of this influence. The genius of Hellenistic art is foreign to Indian psychology. Western art at all times tends to representation, Indian to symbolism. The influence of Gandhara hardly recognisable after A.D. 300, constitutes an episode, and not a stage in a continuous development. The Amaravati and Sinhalese Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the second and third century A.D. are unsurpassed as pure sculpture; but it is only in the Gupta period that sculpture in the round, the cult figure, is perfectly assimilated to the ensemble of the architecture and reliefs, and shares their decorative qualities. The Gupta period is marked by the combination of brilliant, intellectual, and spiritual development with the utmost sensuousness of experience and expression, which according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, more than justified the Indian tradition of the Court of Vikramâditya. Close relations with the West by way of Bactria in the North and the Roman trade in the South was broken. India's foreign relations are now and for a thousand years to follow with the Far East by way of Central Asia and with Further India and Indonesia. It is under Indian influence that the unity of Asia came into being. We are further informed that we no longer meet with primitive qualities or naivete in Indian art—its character is self-possessed urbane, at once exuberant and formal. All foreign influences have been absorbed and Indianised. Philosophy and faith possess a common language in this art that is at once abstract and sensuous, reserved and passionate. This is clearly manifested in the paintings at Ajanta. Earlier Indian art is, he says, so to speak, a product of Nature, rather than of artifice and characterised by naturalism and simplicity. Gupta art is a flower of established tradition, is polished, and a perfected medium like the Sanscrit language, for the statement of thought and feeling: and having thus become an ordered language with a grammar and vocabulary of its own, its forms by hypothesis conventioned and ideal—its truth of utterance does not depend upon, though it may include, a visible resemblance to natural forms. He refers to several important surviving monuments of this period. A Bodhisattva Torso from Sanchi in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is amongst the finest surviving examples of late Kusan or early Gupta art. The paintings in the caves Nos. 9 and 10 at Ajanta range from 100 B.C. to A.D. 200. Here there are representations of Jataka scenes and of seated and standing Buddhas. The fine example of a standing King or Yaksa reproduced by Professor S. Taki in the Kokka No. 335, closely parallels the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi, and the early work of the Mathura school. Like the sculpture, the painting is static and enormously dignified, rather than elegant or facile. The greater part

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of the Ajanta paintings excepting caves 9 and 10 are dated between A.D. 550 and 642. Here renunciation and enjoyment are perfectly attuned, an art at once of utmost intimacy and reserve. Contemporary with some of these Ajanta paintings are the similar frescoes in a rock pocket at Sigiria in Ceylon. Jain paintings of great importance have been recently discovered at Sittanavasal near Padukottai and have been assigned by M. Jauveau-Dubreuil to the time of Mahendravarmam I (600-25). The period following Gupta and covering the transition from ancient to mediæval India, is one of even more abundant and elaborate production, in which Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain legends are treated. In this early mediæval sculpture there is a tendency to an increasing elegance and slenderness of form, great dramatic force, and freer movement than in the Gupta period. The classic monuments of the mediæval period of the eighteenth century at Ellora, Elephanata and Mamallapuram, are regarded by modern students not without reason as representing the zenith of Indian art. Some mediæval sculptures in the Deccan, are signed by the Kanarese artists, thing practically unknown in earlier periods, when the artist's name is only mentioned when he himself is the donor. The lavish use of the decorative detail, going hand in hand with an attenuation of the actual elements of the design, and of the figure, take the place of the essential richness of the Gupta period: the erotic sculptures of Kanarak are not one half so voluptuous as the Gupta Buddhas, or even the reliefs at Elephanta and Mamallapuram. But it is only by reference to what is past that we can speak of in this fashion. The temples at Mount Abu, Girnar and Palitana are cited as examples of the Mediæval architecture and sculpture. Section the tenth is devoted to southern India. The eleventh section is devoted to the complex subject of the art of Further India and Indonesia. Art in Champa, Cambodia and Java are each dealt with in this section. The student would do well to go through the articles in *Rupam* recently published on these interesting topics. We are here shown that the art of the rest of Asia was inspired by India. The continuity of Indian painting from the seventh to the sixteenth century is most beautifully given by the late Mr. Vredenburg in *Rupam* (Nos. 1 and 2). Dr. Coomaraswamy in section twelve refers to Buddhist and Nepalese manuscripts in support of his argument. He mentions Tun Huang Buddhist paintings discovered by Sir Aural Stein in Central Asia as of the tenth century and of Indian origin. Mr. Laurence Binyon also traces Indian influence in them. Jain manuscripts of the thirteenth century and later have been found with Jaina painting. Dr. Coomaraswamy describes them thus:—"This is an art of fine and nervous draughtsmanship, calligraphic facile, and restless, intellectual rather than emotional. Mediæval Indian art has nothing finer to show than the Jaina paintings; only the early Rajput pictures of Rāgas and Rāginis are of equal æsthetic rank. Referring to Rajput painting, he says, the paintings of Rajasthan and the Punjab Himalayas under Rajput patronage constitutes the only considerable body of Hindu painting extant. The paintings cover a period of extending roughly from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, about three hundred years. The tradition is now almost extinct. The themes are mainly Puranic, epic, lyrical (Krishna legends and Nayakas), and musical: there is also some portraiture, illustrated books are almost unknown. The constancy of the compositions, as well as the character of the art, make it evident that we are recovering here, just as in the case of the illustrations of the Jaina manuscripts, the formulæ of an old and well-established tradition. He treats of the formulæ used by these artists in their Rāgini pictures, etc. They are purely Indian and totally unlike Persian art of any period. In later Rajput art, the importance and continuity of the outline are restored, with loss of force, but with greater sweetness and realism. The outline he compares to Ajanta as continuous and made with long strokes of the brush. About Kangra pictures, he says, one can hardly exaggerate the charm of the Kangra paintings, and this charm depends equally on the subjects, emotional and lyrical, and the dainty and accomplished expression. He dismisses Mogul painting in a page as he says, it lies outside the scope of the volume. We emphatically differ from the learned author. Mogul painting and Mogul architecture are as much Indian, or even more so, than the hybrid products of the art of Gandhara, which have received undue importance. A word of praise must be added for the bibliography given at the end of the volume, which is one of its most useful features. It is a book of absorbing interest and gives the whole story of Indian art—in its broad outlines within a short compass. It will admirably fulfil the purpose of a first introduction. The half-tone blocks should have been of a better quality.

B. N. TREASURYWALLA.

"JOTTINGS AT AJANTA" BY W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON. THE TIMES PRESS, BOMBAY. PRICE Re. 1-8-0.

THIS unpretentious little booklet in paper covers, is a veritable word-painting of Ajanta. Mr. Solomon has been charmed and captivated by the line, and colour of Ajanta. Enthusiasm and ecstasy are the key-notes of this beautiful brochure. There is, he says, nothing to be ashamed of in enthusiasm. It is a blessed gift. Enthusiasm can wing souls to overlap all obstacles. This reviewer somehow cannot agree with Mr. Solomon when speaking about an Indian,

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he says, to him there is nothing of the magical about those unique draperies, those darting wisps of gossamer-fabrics that do not clothe so much as glorify the wearers.... and this encrustation of harmonious form with aptest, richest ornament, he feels but the vibration of familiar chords. Mr. Solomon should remember that these are no photographic representations but idealisation of these forms. We may in life actually see a gesture here, or a floating drapery there, but these are idealisation of those dreams which are made real. He himself says that those old Buddhists believed what they painted, hence their frescoes blaze not only with the brilliance of beautiful but earth-bound spirits, but with the holier inner light of spiritual conviction. There never has been in any age, he says, of world's art of which we have any knowledge, a juxtaposition of form, drapery, and ornament, more perfectly just in its essentially decorative purpose. The combination is superb and awe-inspiring in its stupendous simplicity. But Mr. Solomon overlooks the colour prints by Utamaro, Kiyonaga and other print designers with their decorative draperies with rhythmic flowing lines,which is a language very analogous to that of Ajanta. The eyes he compares to jewels, the hands, he says, are exquisitely patterned shapes; each ear and ringlet is a separate gem. Nearly every head-dress is different and each is itself a complete section of intricate and joyous designing. Nowhere else in the domain of painting we see drapery quite so clearly regulated to its rightful duty in art—that of enhancing and not concealing form. To these artists the realm of what we should term fancy is as real—perhaps more so than that of sheer reality. There were no "one art" men quarelling for exclusiveness—but a band of brothers linked in the bonds of a joint mission. The charm of the Ajanta paintings has its genesis in the patient study of Nature; but their technic is very original and disconcerting. They are but part of a culture that welded Religion, Philosophy, and Art into a unity such as Europe has never attempted. It is precisely for this reason that Indian art is unique in the history of the World.

Concluding, he says, in these caves we want no stereotyped art. We are nearer something more vital, deeper, more moving; something that can set the blood racing in our veins. We want no other art than this. Give us as art-lovers the vaulted studios of Ajanta; the good scent of the earth in our nostrils, the diapason of the living waters in our ears, and these pictures, fragments that seem tossed to us from Heaven, before our eyes! The wonder of Ajanta is, he says, that she speaks with the tongues of many nations. It is the hall-mark of all truly great art. The author says, those who can enjoy the Italian paintings of the fourteenth century should find their admittance to the Buddhist point of view easy. For they have something in common. But what a gulf divides Pollo Ucello and the fourteenth century Italians from these hymns in colours! Art must always speak for itself; we must judge these painters by their own achievements. Inspite of centuries of vandalism and neglect, enough remains to show that India never lacked the power to express her highest religious ideals. This is an art with perfect technical methods, utter simplicity, and deep religious convictions; where the personality and identity of the artist is merged in his own creations. "Bhakti" is the moving spirit of all these great religious paintings and of all the sculptures of the period, whether at Ajanta, Ellora or Elephanta. The art of India, up to the fourth century was transitional. It was during the seventh or the eighth century that its expression was perfected. This little book is an admirable tribute by a gifted connoisseur that should be in the hands of all lovers of Indian art. The illustrations are good in their way.

B. N. T.

NOTES.

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COLLECTION OF PROFESSOR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN.—We have very few amongst our readers who take such kindly and appreciative interest in the work of this Journal as Professor William Rothenstein, the Principal of the Royal College of Art, London. We had the good fortune to publish a summary of his lecture on "Indian Sculpture" in the October, 1922 number. He has recently published a very scholarly essay on Indian sculptures of the British Museum, which is reviewed in this number. It is very little known that he is an ardent collector of old Indian miniatures both Rajput and Mogul. By his generous courtesy, we are able to present to our readers two very fine examples of Mogul portraiture which enrich his collection. The portraits which are reproduced on the plate opposite offer many peculiarities not often met with in the average type of Mogul portraits. They are rather larger in size and in their broad and simple outlines are entirely different from the general treatment of the portraits of Mogul school. There is hardly

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Portarit of Dûr-Khosh.

Portrait of Gûl-Shâfâ.

Collection of
Prof William Rothenstien.
London.

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any attempt at modelling and they approach very closely the large size Rajput cartoons very typically familiar in the portraits of "Radha and Krishna" from Jaipur (Coomaraswamy: Indian

Portrait of Gûl-Shâfâ.
Moghul School.

Collection Mr. O. C. Gangoly.
Calcutta

Drawings II, Plates I & II). The larger eyes and the schematic eyebrows recall the "primitive" drawings of the series of studies Radha and Krishna and *ragini* pictures illustrated in Dr. Coomaraswamy's monographs (Plate I to III). In short the language of these portraits is distinctly Rajput rather than Mogul. There is an obvious idealisation of the features rather than a realistic representation of individual traits. Yet the turbaned lady, the second of our illustration, is represented with all her individual features—a fact which one is able to testify—by a happy chance of

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a comparison, which a similar portrait from the collection of the Editor, reproduced at the head of this note, so instructively offers. A glance is enough to convince that the same personage is the subject matter of both examples. The acquiline nose, the firm well-set lips, the peculiarities of the hair, and last, though not the least, the identical turban with a golden tassel or flower at the top, with a pearl-drop above the brow, and the pearl-ring through the ear-lobe, offer individual characteristics and habits of the personage which the artist in both these portraits deliberately reproduce. If there is any difference, it is in the age of the sitter. In the Rothenstein portrait the lady is depicted in her earlier youth while the second portrait bears distinct traces of the mark of age. There is very little doubt that the person depicted in these two portraits is identical. The turban is a very peculiar feature of the portrait. "Gul-shāfā" may mean, perhaps, the flowered turban. It was not unusual for distinguished princesses in the Mogul harem to wear turbans. Manucci remarks in his memoirs (Storia Do Mogor Vol. II, p. 341). "Some of these princesses wear turbans by the kings' permission. On the turban is a valuable aigrette, surrounded by pearls and precious stones. This is extremely becoming and makes them look very graceful." Now the Rothenstein example bears on ths top (not reproduced in our copy) an inscription in Persian which gives the name of the lady. It reads "Taswir Gul-shāfā," the portrait of Gul-shāfā. Now there are two or three Mogul portraits in the albums in the India Office which bear the same name. The lady is identified by some as the mistress of Dara Shukho. Three of his wives are very well known, viz., Nur Mahal, his principal wife, Nadira Begum, daughter of Sultan Parvez, who died in Guzrat in 1659 and Ra'na-dil (lit., "less clear-hearted one") the faithful wife, whose respect for the memory of her unfortunate husband won the esteem of Aurangzib who at one time was anxious to win her as his wife. We have very few authentic evidence to identify this lady as the wife or mistress of Dara Shukho. She must have been a very important personage in the Mogul harem. Otherwise so many portraits of her could not have been painted. The other lady, with a flower in her "henna" painted fingures, is identified by a similar inscription at the top as "Dur-khosh" whom we have been unable to identify. Whoever may be the ladies represented in these portraits, their style offers some peculiarities hardly met with in the Mogul school. The second portrait in its manner of presentation easily recalls the Rajput portrait of a lady in the Bodelian collection (Coomaraswamy, Indian Drawings I, Plate XV) and the interest of these drawings acquires an enhanced significance by their contact with the language of Rajput art. Except in the rendering of the torso, practically no shading is employed in the drawing of the face which receives the flat treatment characteristic of the indigenous Rajput style. The size of both the Rothenstein portraits is 11 in. by 7 in. while that of the example from the collection of the Editor is 9½ in. by 7¼ in. We propose to study some more interesting examples from the Rothenstein collection in our future numbers.

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ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL PAINTINGS.

—Presiding at a meeting of the India Society on the occasion of a lecture by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Sir Charles Holmes, Director of the National Gallery, speaking quite unofficially, said "that he was eager to see the great painters of India, Persia, China and Japan, represented in our National Gallery, side by side with the great paintings of Europe." In saying this he must not be thought for one instant to disparage or to be competing with what had been done for Oriental art by the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. "Only by exhibiting the great painters of the East, in juxtaposition with the great painters of Europe, could we properly estimate, proclaim and emphasise the place of the East in the vital artistic achievements of the world. Our knowledge of art was not complete until we could include paintings of India, Persia, China and Japan in the same comprehensive vision with which we surveyed the arts of Northern and Southern Europe." These remarks emanating as they do from the accredited official head of British connoisseurship in art is significant of the change which has been brought about in the æsthetic outlook of the English people, during the last few years. Persistent assault has been made by the claims of Oriental art on the narrow insularity of British taste of the Victorian era, and public opinion, backed by educated connoisseurship, is now yielding to the justice of the æsthetic equality of the revelation of the Eastern mind. Apart from the claims of Oriental painting the snug orthodoxy of academic ideas had even shut out the claims of the new movement in painting in France. The masterpieces of Picasso, Cèzanne and Van Gogh were refused official recognition in England a couple of years ago; the official clique refusing to exhibit, even as loans, some masterpieces of the new art. The National Gallery has now expiated its sin by purchasing two Van Goghs. British National taste is now about to bend its obstinate knees to the shrine of the Oriental gods. China and Japan have long ago exacted their tributes. The claims of India and Persia had been persistently overlooked. As regards India, the refusal to admit the claims of Indian art, had an unfortunate element of racial, and, in some cases, political prejudices. Against these prejudices Mr. Havell has been continually directing his vigorous assaults for over sixteen years. And we are happy to recall the significant warning of Mr. Roger Fry, the foremost English critic, which he addressed to his fellow-critics and connoisseurs at the time:

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"And now, finally, the claim is being brought forward on behalf of the sculptures of India, Java and Ceylon. These claims have got to be faced, we can no longer hide behind the Elgin marbles and refuse to look. We have no longer any system of æsthetics which can rule out, *a priori*, even the most fantastic and unreal artistic forms. They must be judged in themselves and by their own standards." Judged by Indian standards, the art of India, through the eyes of Modern English connoisseurs, is being re-placed on its own pedestal claiming new worshippers and devotees. The admission has come, slowly though reluctantly, that the art of India is equal, in a different way to the art of the West, and deserves an honoured niche in the Temple of the Art of the World, and that the World's stock of æsthetic experience will be incomplete without a study of the special contributions of India.

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OURSELVES.—We have refrained from alluding, in our last few numbers, to the various appreciative letters that we frequently receive commending the standard of our Journal. But the two that have recently come are too good to be suppressed or censored. A friend writes: "Your January issue of *Rupam* is splendid, a veritable *tour de force*. That single issue is worth the whole year's subscription." Another friend writes: "The English people who have seen *Rupam* at my place including the Governor of the Province would not believe that such things can be produced in India." Another subscriber writes:—"The last number of *Rupam* is a credit to our society and particularly to the Editor. The colour plate is a triumph of skilful reproduction." These are high praises indeed. But there is a black line to this silver cloud. When such publications as our Journal are reproduced, there is no public patronage to keep them alive. The number of our roll of subscribers does not do credit to the cultured or educated section of the Indian community. The number of persons who are capable of appreciating or taking an intelligent interest in any form of æsthetic activity is deplorably limited. Thanks to the system of education current in the Indian Universities, our Masters of Art, are woefully ignorant of the A. B. C. of Art! Æsthetics are forbidden fruits to our young men at the colleges.

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THE PRESERVATION OF THE AJANTA FRESCOES.—Considerable sensation was roused in artistic circles a few months ago by the news for which Mr. St. Nehal Singh was responsible—that the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad was engaged in restoration work (!) in the Ajanta caves. Some of our friends suggested a joint protest and a representation to Sir John Marshall to stop such vandalism in the name of "restoration". The Report of the Archæological Department recently published and for which the talented Director, Mr. G. Yazdani is responsible will help to allay the misconceptions that the news had given rise to. What was actually undertaken and partially achieved, was not *restoration* but conservation and preservation of the fresco paintings at Ajanta from further decay and deterioration due to time and other causes. Mr. St. Nehal Singh must have been misled by the fact that two expert Italian *restaurateurs* were employed by the Department—to take steps to preserve the painting from decay. The *restaurateurs* did nothing to restore the decayed portions—but only conserved the existing remnants. The work which the experts were faced with was, first, to fix the frescoes, which were gradually peeling off from the rock surface, secondly, the protection of the crumbling edges of the paintings with a suitable cement; thirdly, the removal of the varnish laid by Mr. Griffiths, in the eighties, with the object of brightening up the details of the paintings, and of protecting them against damp; fourthly, the destruction of the insects which owing to the presence of vegetable matter with the clay-plaster were the cause of its decay, and fifthly, the removal of the dust and smoke which had gathered on the paintings through the neglect of centuries and the fires of the Jogis who occupied the caves in comparatively recent times and used them for dwelling purposes. The experts after five months patient work at the caves have been able to fix the entire painted area of Cave XVII and the right aisle of Cave XVI, besides the thorough conservation of decayed portion of the painting of Prince Siddhartha in Cave I. All lovers of Indian art have been laid under a heavy debt to H. E. H. the Nizam and the Indian Archæological Department for conserving these priceless treasures of Indian civilisation.

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MR. VISSER'S LECTURE ON INDIAN INFLUENCE IN FAR EASTERN ART.—We understand the publication of the text of this lecture originally delivered before the India Society, London, in our July number (Nos. 15-16) has given rise to some misunderstanding. We understand that for the convenience of the daily press Mr. Visser himself prepared some typed copies of the lecture and these were circulated to the press. By the courtesy of the Secretary of the India Society, we received a carbon copy of the type-written version of the text of the lecture as prepared by Mr. Visser himself and we published the same, as we thought it contained a very interesting discussion on the influence of Indian art on the Far East—one of the most fascinating problems of the history of Asiatic art, to-day—in which many of our readers take a keen

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interest. We thought we were offering in our humble way, a compliment to Mr. Visser, by publishing the "copy" prepared by him for the press and we wrote to him on the 11th April, 1923, that we were going to publish the paper in our Journal. After the MSS. was in print for our July number, we received a communication, about the beginning of July from Mr. Visser that the MSS. represents not the actual wording in which the lecture should be printed and he enquired whether we would be willing to wait till the lecture had been published by the India Society in book form. Mr. Visser added, "I, of course, highly appreciate that you are inclined to say something about my lecture in your fine review, but I think it is much better and avoids corrections, to base any *Rupam* publication on the definitive text." We received this communication too late to stop the publication of Mr. Visser's type-written version of his lecture. We offer our apologies for this and for some of the printer's errors which crept into the printed article. We had no desire to misrepresent Mr. Visser and when we actually printed it we were under the impression that it represented the actual text of the lecture as originally delivered. It now transpires that the copies which Mr. Visser himself prepared for the convenience of the daily press "were not in conformance with the paper he read before the India Society." We have received a few rejoinders to Mr. Visser's paper as published in *Rupam*—but we do not think we should be justified in publishing them before a correct or a revised version of the text is published by the India Society. The subject matter of the lecture, very fascinating in its presentation, bristles with controversial matters—which invite discussions which cannot but be fruitful to the elucidation of the subject matter—and we on our part venture to think, that a revised version will gain in value—and will be able to put some claims to a relative finality—if the criticisms that the paper may, and have actually brought forth, are answered by Mr. Visser in his revised text. For it must be considered that in the present state of our knowledge of Indian and Chinese art anything that could be offered in the way of an affirmative relationship between the art of the two countries cannot but be tentative and liable to be subverted by discoveries of new materials.

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THE TWO IMAGES FROM BHARATPUR.—The pot-bellied God of worldiness has never lacked clientele—either artistic or popular in spite of his unpromising exterior. Being the Lord of spirits of either hue—benign as well as malignant,—he is to be invoked at the commencement of all undertakings. The artistic and invariably serious rendering of the deity may be regarded as a *tour de force* in the history of art; for nothing can be more unpromising for æsthetic treatment than the raw material provided by the canonical aspect and attributes of the God Ganesha. The mediæval sculpture from Bharatpur reproduced here represents the son of Shiva and Parvati in a dancing posture (Nritta-Ganapati)* with the heavenly spirits in graceful motion overhead carrying floral tributes to their divine Master. All the usual attributes of the God are held in the numerous arms of Ganapati, the front left arm being held in Gnyāna-mudrā, and one of the upper right being in the attitude of protection (Abhayamudrā). The image is, however, remarkable for the beautiful rendering of the face with its third eye of wisdom on the forehead and the masterly distribution of the arms in complete harmony with the swaying movement of the body. The charming canopy has been sculptured over the head of Ganapati which the artist has skilfully contrived to use as a resting ground for the spirits of the air. The amount of variety that the Hindu sculptor managed to exhibit in his delineations of Brahminical deities at various epochs of India's history, in spite of the rigid formulæ laid down by the Shastras is astonishing particularly in comparison with the stereotyped uniformity of the representations of the Jain Tirthānkaras.

2. This pleasant image of Neminātha or Arishtanemi—the 22nd Tirthānkara may be regarded as a good and typical specimen of Jain iconography. In the earlier Jain sculptures of the Kushāna and the Gupta periods, there is hardly anything to distinguish the individual Tirthānkaras except the cobra-hood in the case of Supārshwa and Pārshwanātha. The efflorescence of the Gupta art, however, was not without its influence even on the rigid iconography of the Jains; and the mediæval artist introduced the use of the various *lakshanas* (emblems) to distinguish the various Tirthānkaras. They were even provided with the Ushnisha, the protuberance on the head which was symbolic of the enlightenment of the Buddha. It is curious to note that all the various schools of temple-workers made use of the same hieratic art vocabulary

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*See Gopinath Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, part I, pages 35, 67.

The following two verses give the characteristic emblems of the 24 Tirthānkaras and are useful as a ready guide to their identification:—

Vriso (1) gajo' swah (2, 3) plabagah (4)
Krauncho (5) bja (6) swastikah (7) shashî (8)
Makara (9) shrîvatsah (10) khadgo (11)
Mahîsah (12) Sukarastathâ (13)|
Sheyno (14) vajra (15) mrigaschhâga (16, 17)
nandyâvartto (18) ghato 'picha (19)
Kurmo (20) nilotpalam (21) shankha (22)
phanî (23) simho (24) 'îtam dhwajah|

The numbers refer to the emblems of the Tirthānkara of the same precedence, e.g., the bull is the emblem of the first and the lion of the last, the 24th.

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only changing here and there, the inflection and the emphasis to suit their individual or sectarian requirements. The Jain pantheon like the Buddhist Olympium created by Nāgārjuna—the founder of the Mahāyāna—was primarily composed of Brahmanical deities of course in subordinate position to the Jain Arhats. Neminath was born according to the Trikshāshti Shalākā Purusha-Charitra of Hemchandra on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Shrāvana when the Chitrā constellation was in the heavens and is reputed to have belonged to the same family of Yādavas as Krishna Chandra of Dwārkā and was even of the same dark hue as the popular idol of Vaishnavism. Jain legends ascribe to him various

vocabulary of finger poses elaborated by the Brahminical and the Buddhist sculptor. The Jain Arhats are invariably seated in Padmāsana with eyes half-closed—in an attitude of Dhyānmudrā with their hands joined in the lap and lying completely at ease; for the Tirthānkaras had attained the position of Paramhamsa and consequently any restraint or stiffness in their poses would be out of place. The use of the characteristic symbols of a Mahāpurusha—the sign of Shrivatsa mark in the broad chest, the long arms stretching to the knees, the three lines on the neck indicating noble birth, the emblem of the wheel on the palms of the hands and feet is common to all schools of Indian iconography. The rigid definition of the

Nritya-Ganapati-Bharatpur.

Tainaimage-Bharatpur.

deeds of prowess and attribute to him the conversion of Balarāma and many other leading nobles of the Court of Dwārkā. He was born with the sign of the conch and is consequently represented by mediæval sculptors by the conch marked on the pedestal. When he reached Parinirvāna on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Asārh at the time of the Chitrā constellation shining in the heavens, he left 18,000 monks, 40,000 nuns and several hundreds of thousands of lay-followers.

The seated image of the Jinas—the victors, are generally more pleasant than the nude standing representations with hands hanging straight, limp and lifeless. The Jain artist never uses the facial attitude and the disposition of the body allowed but little scope to flights of artistic imagination so far as the principal figures of the Jinas were concerned; and the Jain artist was left to satisfy his craving for effect and grandeur by making colossal images of the 24 apostles which were impressive not on account of their æsthetic merit but chiefly because of their bulk and size. The hereditary artist was left free to indulge his fancy as regards the outward decoration of the shrines and some of the secular sculptures carried out even in recent times as in the modern temple of Seth Hatisingh's Wadi at Ahmedabad are of considerable artistic value. The

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forte of Jain plastic art, however, lay in excessive elaboration and minute ornamentation as seen in the wonderful marble temples of Dilwādā. The dominant note of Jain iconography has been its appalling uniformity, as the central theme of Jain spiritual life has been its insistence on the literal execution of the great idea—Ahimsā Paramo Dharmah (non-violence is the greatest of all Faith). Jain art has remained stationary throughout the ages and it is only in the matter of details that it has been influenced by the artistic modes and fashions of the period in which it came into being. It is practically impossible except by a study of details and accessories of the images to distinguish modern images from those executed centuries ago.

N. C. M.

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I.—AN IMAGE OF ARDHANARISWARA FROM NEPAL.

By THE EDITOR.

WE have selected for our Frontispiece for this number a copper-gilt image of Ardhanârîswara from Nepal in the collection of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. Although Nepal has contributed very lavishly to Mahayanist images, some representative examples of which we have reproduced in our previous numbers, its contribution to purely Hindu, or Brahminic iconographic conception is very great. In many images, however, the tantric forms of conception merge into Hindu and Buddhist icons, but in others, as in our Frontispiece, the purely Hindu conception is very well illustrated. The merit of the piece lies, more than in anything else, in the skill of the design which successfully carries out an iconographic prescription with a unity of plastic conception having a logic of its own. The artist by a commendable manipulation of the details happily escapes all shadow of the sense of the grotesque, which to many European students of Indian Art, is still an impediment in such composite images Barring the extra pair of hands, there is nothing in the image which could at the first sight hurt one's sense of the normal form of human anatomy. Considerable improvement has happened in the outlook of western critics in understanding and appreciating the many peculiar phases of Indian sculpture. It is no longer asserted in blind dogmatism that "the shapes of Puranic deities are unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation." The canons of recent criticism, enlarged and enriched by a survey of artistic forms so divergent as Gothic sculpture, T'ang images, and Negro plastics, have slowly evolved a broad-based standard which demands that every form of Art-Expression has its own justification and has to be studied and understood from its own point of view and from a perception of the purposes implicit in itself. Let us seek what the artist has set himself, or was asked, to express, in this image; and whether his purpose has been happily achieved. Ardhanârîswara is an iconographic conception, which means 'the divinity (îswara) of whom one half is a woman.' When Brahma, the changeless and absolute being, chooses to express itself in created forms, which the many-faced universe develops under the power of the *shakti*,—the creative principle conceived as a female essence, it passes through three stages. When Brahma 'sleeps' within itself—untouched by any desire for creation, (in the language of sex- symbolism),—the male and the female essence merge and coalesce and cannot be differentiated. It is a stage technically called *avyakta*, unexpressed in creative forms,—or to apply the term to iconology,—'unrevealed in tangible icons.' In such dual images as Hara-Gourî (Shiva and his consort), Laksmî-Nârâyana (Vishnu and his consort)—the forms are visible in two definite and distinct incarnations—the male and the female principles. The two principles—are here revealed and expressed i.e. '*vyakta.*' Between the '*vyakta*' and the '*avyakta*' stage, comes an intermediary stage in the evolution: the '*vyakta-avyakta*'—(the expressed and the unexpressed) stage—the differentiation of the two principles in one—in its nascent form. In this interesting stage, we have the unity as well as the duality. It is not a sexual union in the act of creation (*not* 'a Shiva and Parvati in an amorous posture,' as wrongly suggested by B. C. Bhattacharya, "Indian Images," p. 22). It represents a stage in iconographic revelation which emphasises the fact that 'Each is both.' In the Hara-Gourî,' or the 'Umâ-Mahesvara' conception we have, frequently, the picture of a pair of lovers locked up in embrace. In the conception of Ardhanârîswara—the two principles are merged (*avyakta*),—but about to emerge (*vyakta*). It is something like the picture of Adam at the moment when

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Eve was created from his side. If we have a clear understanding of the motive and the purpose of the icon, it is not difficult to follow the formula itself which is given in the Matsya Purâna:—"one half of the great God (Shiva) should have the beautiful female form (Umâ). In the Shiva's half there should be the load of matlocks with crescent moon and in the other half of Umâ, the end of her plaited hairs and *tilaka*; the *trisula* also belongs to this half, and in the left half the heavy bust of the lady should be suggested." There are a few more details in our example which are worth noticing though not mentioned in the text. The Shiva-half has got a crown, the drum, and the *akshamala* (the garland) which are the attributes of Shiva. The *mundamala* (the wreath of heads) is a common ornament which belong to both. The male half has the tunic of tiger skin indicated by stripes, while the female half is clothed in a flowered *sari*. The ornaments of Shiva are all of snakes, except those on the upper arms which are similar on both parts of the image. By the use of a common necklace, a common garland and some common ornaments, the artist has attempted to weave the two figures into one concept. He has eminently succeeded in conveying the idea that "The Two are One."

II.—THE BARNAGAR TEMPLES IN MURSHIDABAD.

By GURUDAS SARKAR.

BARNAGAR lies within a couple of miles from Azimgunge town in Murshidabad District, and is remembered as the Riverside residence of Râni Bhavâni of Natore, that philanthropic lady of pious memory whose name is a byword in Bengal for acts of charity and humane kindliness. In the following notes in which an attempt is made to give a concise description of their architectural or iconographical peculiarities and the salient features of the artistic embellishments, the temples are dealt with singly or in groups in the order of our actual visit.

Char Bangla temples.—The first group of temples we visited is situated round a courtyard—once paved but now grass-grown—and are four in number. They have got the sloping roofs of Bengali huts (dochâlâ) with a ridge at the top (*vide* illustration A). Each of these temples contains three *lingams* which are still worshipped. The two temples lying to the north and west respectively are the most ornate and deserve to be carefully preserved not only because the type of architecture is indigenous to Bengal, but still more on account of their architectural and decorative features. Every inch of the facade commencing from below the eaves down to the very level of the plinth is richly decorated with rosettes, ornamental patterns and scroll work. Besides these there are panels which contain scenes from the account of Srî-Krishna's early life and exploits as given in the Vaishnava Texts and the representations of the goddess Shakti in some of her well-known forms. The charming Dâna Lîlâ representing milkmaids carrying milk and pots of curd on their heads and Krishna ready to realize the lover's toll specially attracts one's attention.

The western temple, however, is not the less ornate of the two. The most prominent panel on the northern temple, is the one just above the central doorway in which Râvana is seen standing on his car—represented by a platform on four wheels—in an attitude of resignation, his hands folded in adoration in the presence of his irresistible adversaries Râma and Lakshmana who are being borne in triumph on the shoulders of their *simian* lieutenants. (Fig. C.) On the right hand panel is depicted, what appears to be the killing of Kamsa by Krishna, and on the left hand one the Devi is seen mounted on her lion fighting the Asuras with her curved sword—the Khadga. There on an extensive frieze appears Vaishnava Incarnations, but immediately following the usual ten, we

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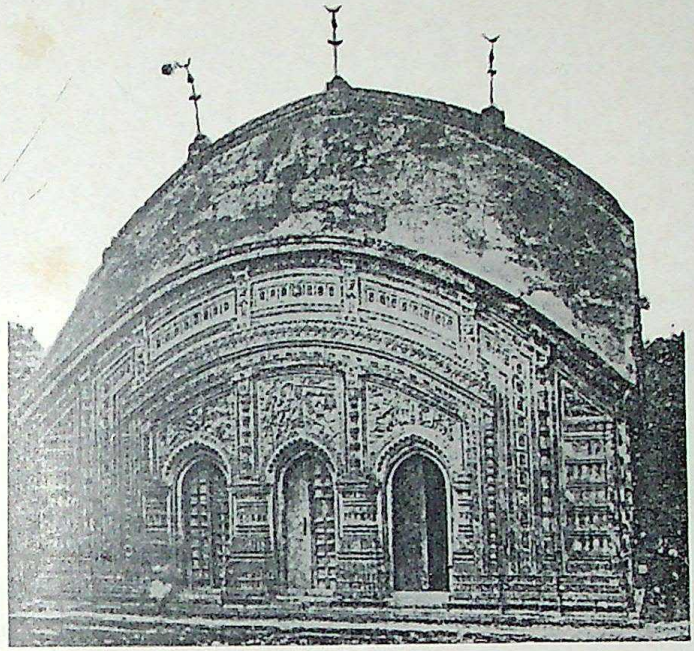
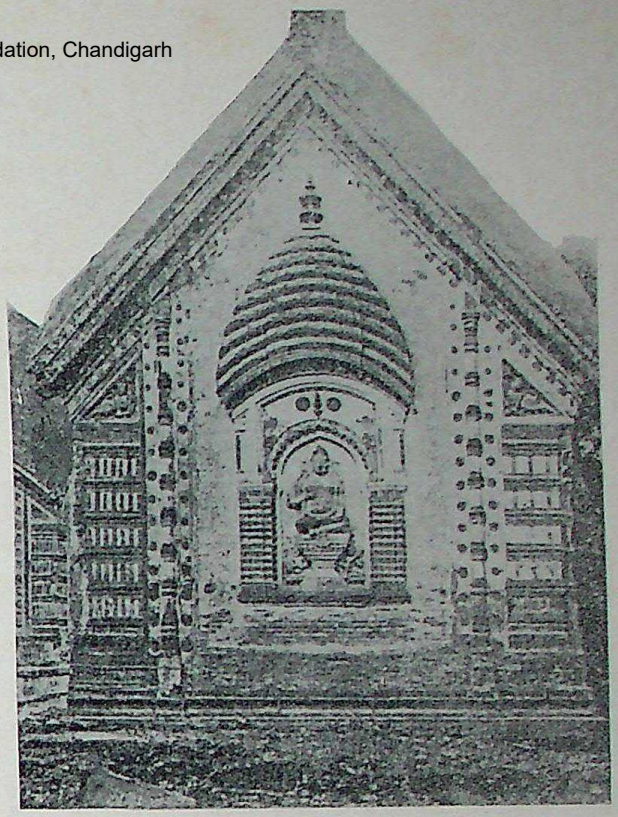
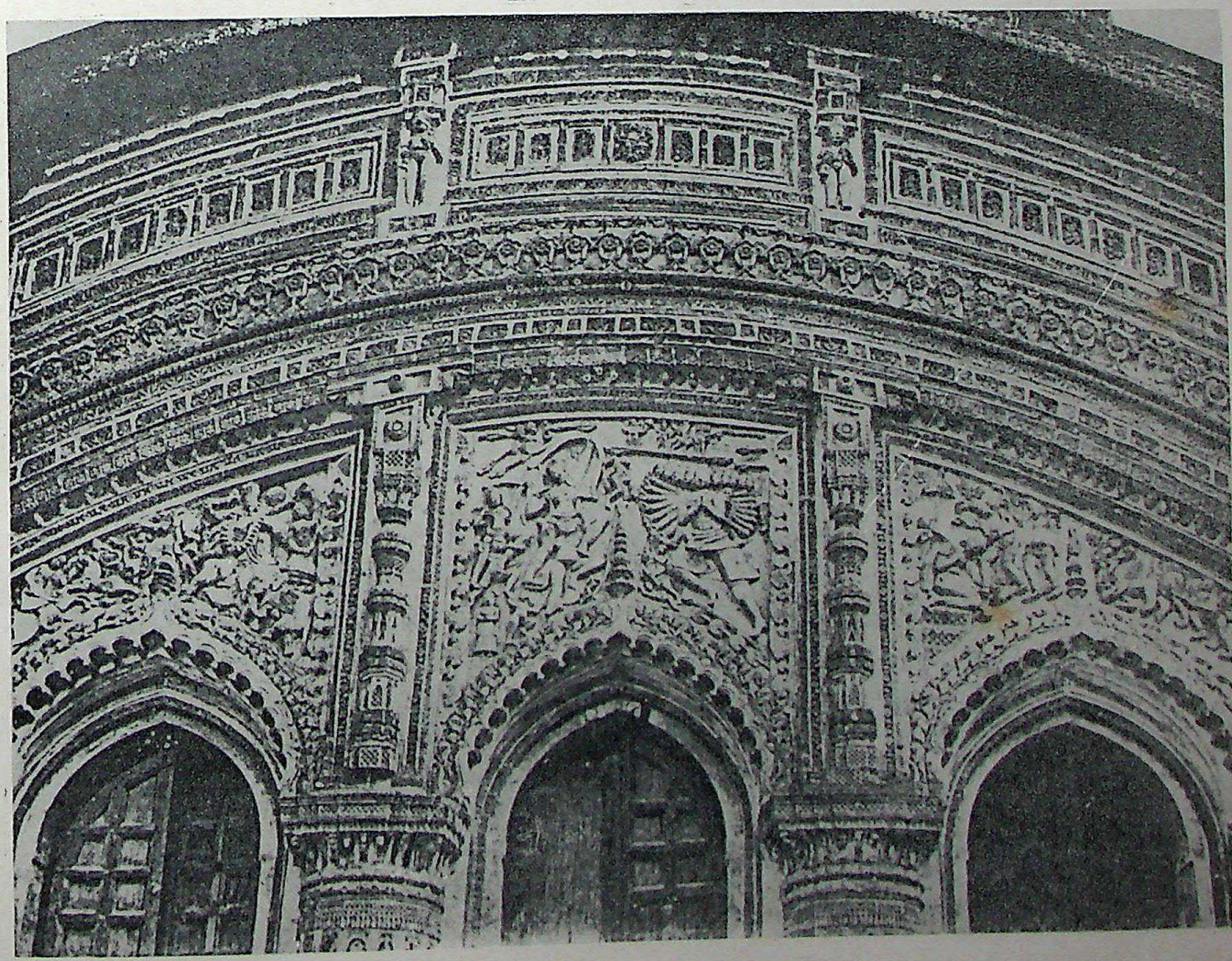


A. Char-Bangla Temple, Barnagar



B. Eastern Facade of Temple A



C. Detail of Northern Facade

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meet with a strange pair—perhaps meant to represent *Nara Narayana*—one of which is in cap and trousers. Next to this comes Jagannâth who, we find, has not in this particular instance, displaced Buddha, the 9th Avatara. The figures in the panels of the series are not easily identifiable on account of the height. On another panel, in place of the well-known Hindu Triad—a Quartette is noticed consisting not only of Brahmâ, Vishnu and Maheswar, but also of the now unfamiliar Vedic deity Agni, in his later Pauranic guise of a bearded God with a ram for his mount. Martial incidents described in the Râmâyana are depicted with a marked degree of dash and vigour. There are besides a few scenes which appear to be of a purely domestic character. The decorative patterns in the form of rosettes, scroll works and geometrical figures are really very effective and there is a scroll-work of creepers adorned with flowers and birds in a stylised form which drew from us a warm appreciation. The panels near the plinths contained representations of processions of infantry and cavalry, chariot and caparisoned elephants constituting the "caturanga senâ" or four divisions of the army in strict conformity with mediæval decorative traditions, illustrations of which are to be met with in such abundance in most of the Orissan temples. Of the zoology of these temples I have only to add that the camel and the rhinoceros, not usually depicted in conventional illustrations of this type, are met with in certain panels on the Northern temple; and at the two corners of the western temple there are interesting illustrations of the attempt of the indigenous artist to portray the lion. This motif appears in an altered form on the east facade of the Northern temple as mythical creatures half human and half animal clearly implying foreign influence and reminding one partly of the Sphinx and partly of the "burraq" or "burag" (1) figures represented on Mahamedan taboots or tazias. There are a few other representations which also deserve special mention. As a decorative motif the use of Makara design was rather prominent on some of the panels not only in the form of miniature *toranas* (gateways) but also as end-pieces of bow-like ornaments. Very probably these were *Makara-Dhanukas.*

In ancient Gupta temples of the sixth or the seventh century the river goddesses Gangâ and Yamunâ (the Ganges and the Jumna) are found depicted on two sides of the doorway—Gangâ on the usual Makara or the snouted dolphin with legs and Yamunâ on the tortoise. In this group of temples we found on the northernmost one, the goddess Gangâ depicted at the eastern and western extremities of the facade, the exigencies of space having made the artist represent the deity as reclining on the Makara in a posture quite unconventional. On the the western wall of the Northern temple close to the extremity of the eaves is depicted a Kinnara—a fabulous being half human and half bird—represented as playing on a drum. The Kinnaras, who were believed to have a special proficiency in the art of music, have been known to Indian art from very early times. One feature is deserving of special notice; the intimate commingling of the sports and exploits of Sri-Krishna as depicted on the temple panels with the representation of Shakti-Mahâvidyâs and episodes from the sacred Chandi clearly indicate that in Bengal in the latter half of the eighteenth century all sectarian differences had been smoothed over, the Shaiva creed acting as a pacific medium. On the eastern wall of the Northern temple is depicted in high relief the image of the serpent-garlanded Bhairav with the right hand in Yapa-Mudrâ, the attitude or gesture of meditation.

On the Western temple we found a decorative motif made up of representations of Shiva temples with the phallus inside, but unlike the decorations on some of the Bengal Shaiva temples of the eighteenth century, these are shown not on the pilasters but on a set of panels disposed in the manner of an arch. The topmost of these contains not a phallus but a figure which appeared to be the reminiscence of a Chaitva in a highly stylised form. The

(1) Burag means literally the bright one and is represented by an animal with human face and peacock's tail on which the Prophet ascended the celestial regions.

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facade of this Western temple is specially marked by illustrations of episodes from the Chandi and the Râmâyana. The Goddess is seen fighting the demons in one prominent panel with her hordes of female spirits, and, in another, the ten-headed Râvana and his Râkshasa followers are fighting their adversaries with all their demoniac fury. In neither of these two scenes the action and movement represented was in the least undignified. We shall close our description with a reference to two other very interesting panels on the Northern temple, the first of which represents the sacred stream Bhogabati gushing out of the nether regions (Pâtalâ) through the earth pierced by Râma's arrow in order to slake Lakshman's thirst, and, the second depicts Rishya Sringa, the deerheaded sage, performing the sacred sacrifices as a preliminary to the birth of Râma and Lakshmana.

The late Rai M. Chakravarty Bahadur in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* refers (on the authority of the Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circles, 1905-06, page 12, para. 6) to four Jor Bangla temples at Barnagar, Murshidabad (opposite Jeaganj), one at each corner of a tank. As I found on actual enquiry no such temples are in existence and as probably the statement was based on some inaccurate or misleading report supplied to Archæological Department, I believe that the Rai Bahadur refers to these identical unicellular Char Bangla temples, which are situated as I have stated not on the four sides of a tank but of a square courtyard covered with grass. Mr. Chakravarty gives 1755 as the date of construction, and states that these temples cost Râni Bhavâni not less than twelve lakhs of rupees. The ceilings of all these temples are perfectly water-tight and are still in a very good state of preservation. The beautiful bricks with all their varied ornaments still retain their original colour and can easily give rise to the suspicion that they came from the kilns only a few years ago.

At a short distance from the Char Bangla temple is the Bhavâniswar temple. This temple (a short notice of which appeared in the Archæological Survey Report, Eastern Circle, 1905-06, page 12, para. 6), is in a good state of preservation and does not require much attention. There is a system of pipes inside the cells of this temple which seems to indicate that they were connected with some reservoir, or overhead tank, which kept the jets of these fountains in full play on festive days. According to Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy, this temple is contemporaneous with the Benares temple of the same name, which was constructed by Râni Bhavâni according to an inscription still *in situ*, in 1675 of the Saka Era. This temple, I may add, is not of the Sikhara type. It is the tallest of the now-existing structures in this locality. A photograph of the Bhavâniswar temple* marked (D) is reproduced in plate II.

We find here an octagonal cella with octagonal sloping roof crowned by a dome which from its shape seems to be a close congener of the dome on the tomb of Shikandar Lodi (Pl. XIa of Havell's "Hand book of Indian Art") barring of course the slight difference due to the fact that the dome in this case caps an octagonal structure, I believe it is because of this dome and the singularity of its roof that the Bhavâniswar temples earned a niche for itself in Rai M. Chakravarty Bahadur's paper on "Bengali Temples and Their Characteristics" as one of the peculiar temples in Bengal. The direct adaptation from Indo-Saracenic architecture and the strong Mussalman influence which it bears witness to even to the lotus petal-like ornaments at the base of the dome bears out very strongly the late Mr. Chakravarty's dictum in regard to the wholesale adaptation of Indo-Saracenic details in later Hindu religious buildings. This influence as it appears was manifest even at the dawn of the British domination.

The Char Bangla temples described in the first paragraph of the note cannot be much older than the Bhavâniswar temple. As inscriptions are lacking it is very difficult to be certain about the date. Our temple craftsmen and architects of the eighteenth century were such perfect masters of their art that it does not seem to be prima facie

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* The photograph of this temple and of those marked A and B were kindly supplied by Mr. Surendra Narayan Sinha, Zemindar of Nehalia.

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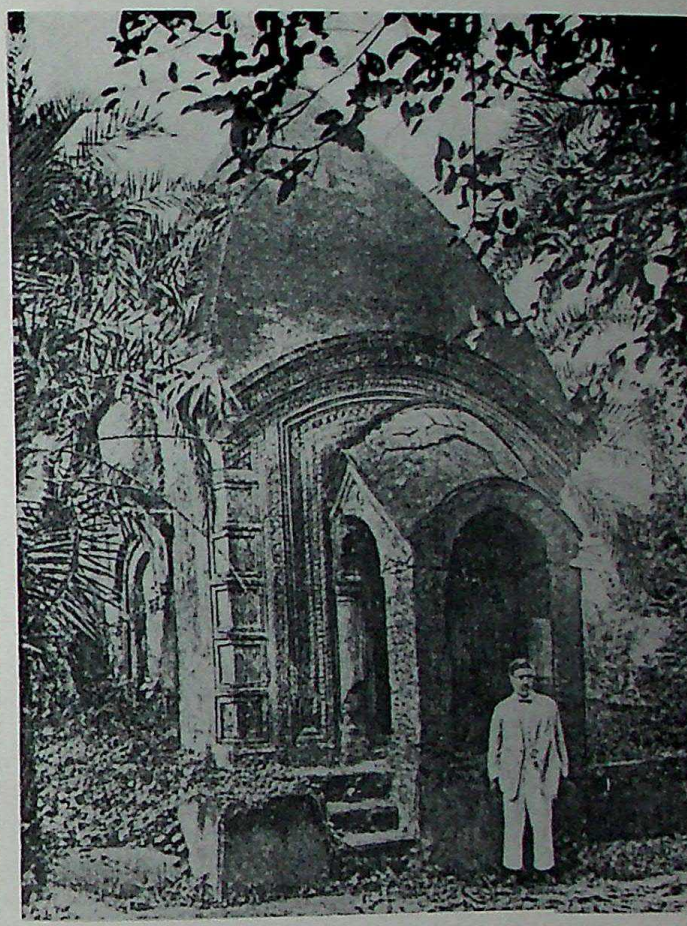
D. Tmple of Rânî Bhavânî



E. Temple at Kusum Khola, Murshidabad

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impossible that brick temples about 169 years old should still be fairly well preserved even in a land of heavy monsoon like Lower Bengal. The present Saka Era is 1844. It would appear that the date given by Rai M. Chakravarty Bahadur is not wide of the mark as the calculation according to the Saka Era relied on by Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy would give 1754-55 of the Christian Era.

The Gopâla Mandir which owes its existence to the munificence of Râjkumâri Tara, daughter of Râni Bhavâni, is without much architectural pretensions. It has got a gateway which was once imposing and also a spacious courtyard. There is an open verandah in front with a basin and pipes which show that here also artificial fountains were made to play either daily or on special occasions. I have noticed among the ruins of Jagat Seth's house at Mahimapur, in the portion which was said to have been allotted to the zenana, similar arrangement for an artificial fountain in a spot quite close to the flight of steps leading to the river. The Gopala temple was constructed in the year 1700 of the Saka Era, i.e. about 144 years ago. There is a stone inscription bearing a Sanskrit couplet inscribed in Bengali characters. The inscription runs as follows : "Kha Sunya Maitra Sake Srî Bhavânî Tanu Sambhabâ Nirmame Srimatî Târâ Srimad Gopâl Mandiram". Beyond the Gopâla temple and immediately to its north lies the Pancha Mundi Asana, or the Seat erected over five human skulls on which Raja Ram Krishna, Râni Bhavâni's adopted son used to perform his Tantric devotions. The seat is of masonry but has become overgrown with jungle. The Râj Râjeswari temple is in charge of the Maharaja of Natore and lies close to the Gopâla temple. It is without any architectural adornments and is in a bad state of repair. There are three bronze images inside the temple. The goddesses are of the Sakti cult and are named respectively Râj Râjeswari, Jay Durgâ and Karunâmayî ("The Lady of Mercy"). They resemble the goddess Durgâ without the Pârsva Devatâs (attendant gods). There is a good deal of family resemblance in the images and the *locale* of their origin was very possibly the same. Photographs of these images would certainly be of interest to iconographers. According to Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy (Murshidabad Kahini, page 298-299) the Jay Durgâ image was constructed at the instance of Raja Ram Jivan whose son Kali Prasad adopted Raja Râmkânta—Râni Bhabani's husband. The image of Korunâmayî is said to have come from the Râni's paternal residence and that of Raj Rajeswari was installed and consecrated by the Râni herself. Varendra Bhumi had great art traditions of its own and the casting of such images even at occasional intervals served to keep alive the art tradition at least in certain families of local artizans if not in the entire community.

The Madan Gopâl temple which adjoins the Raj Rajeswari temple is also in charge of the Natore-Râj. There is nothing to note about the architecture but the contents of the temple are of great iconographical interest. Madan Gôpal is the youthful god with a consort and not a mere child-god. The image of Madan Gopal is a typical example of the art of wood-carving in Bengal still surviving in some places. There is also an image of Mahâlakshmî carved in wood, if not striking on account of its beauty specially interesting as an iconographic survival from very early times. Though the earliest specimens are associated with a pair of elephants pouring water on the head of the goddess, the Gupta coins contain Lakshmi images which are without the usual elephants. The image in the temple holds lotus flower in her hands and is seated on a lotus seat, but is not of Gaja Lakshmi type. We found also an interesting brass image of Vâsudeva-Vishnu resembling in technique some of the specimens in the Rungpur Sâhitya Parishad (Inset Fig). Another very peculiar image in the temple is that of Hayagriva—a deity with horse's head (lit. with horse's neck) which in the dim religous light looked rather like the Varâha or the Boar-incarnation of Vishnu. Hayagrîva is also an incarnation of Vishnu specially related to Sankarshana. Like Goddess Sarasvatî he is looked upon as the deity presiding over learning. It is usual to recite verses in praise of Hayagrîva before commencing the reading

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of *Srimad Bhagvat Gita*. This image must be very old and is said to have been removed from the Kusumesvar temple of Kusumkholâ at one time a populous locality, situated at some distance from the town of Azimgunge. The stone pedestal of the Hayagrîva image is of a decidedly accomplished technique and the polish and fine workmanship would seem to point out to its antiquity.

On the way to what is known as the Mathbâri, is situate just at the junction of two roads a very small squat structure containing the image of a dancing Ganesa set in a niche in the wall. In front of this image, on what looks like a pedestal, is fixed flat an inscription in Bengali characters which mentions the name of Dayârâm the founder of Dighâpatia Raj who was a trusted employe of the Natore Estate.

The Mathbâri, contains within its enclosure, the private residence of Babu Baroda Sunder Thakur a descendant of the spiritual preceptor (guru) of Râni Bhavâni. There is a Jor Bangla temple in the front part of the enclosure exactly of the type of the seventeenth century Jor Bangla Chaitanya temple at Guptipara, an illustration of which appears in Rai Mon Mohon Chakravarty Bahadur's paper referred to above (J. A. S. B., May 1909, page 160, fig. 9). The temple is adorned with mouldings and panels in the manner of some of the temples described above. According to local tradition the three phalluses inside this Jor Bangla temple were also consecrated at the instance of Râni Bhavâni.

The temple of Dayâmayi Kâli which lies a little beyond the Mathbâri is a modern structure. The image of Kâli is of blackstone and the supine figure of Mahadeva is in white marble. A high antiquity is claimed for this image. According to Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy, the local historian, who sedulously collected all the available traditions on the spot,—this image was obtained from Brahmananda, an ascetic friend of Raja Ram Krishna, Râni Bhavâni's adopted son, and was originally found during the excavation of a tank. It is difficult in the absence of a dated inscription to say anything about the age of the image and inferences from mere technique are often misleading. It is impossible, however, from literary evidence to arrive at a general conclusion as to the period when this type of images was most likely to be familiarly known. Inconographic examples of the Goddess Kâli are not probably so old as that of Vishnu in his Vasudeva and other forms. One of the earliest references that I have come across is in verse 61 of Lokesvara Satakam, a Sanskrit Buddhist work written by one Vajra Datta, possibly a Bengali Buddhist, during the Pala period, in the reign of Deva Pala (825-865 A.D.). In the verse, referred to, is described the exquisite beauty of the Goddess Kali, who is said to be endowed with grace from radiance of the toe nails of the Buddhist deity, Lokesvara. This seems to warrant the inference that the Kâli cult was already prevalent in Bengal in the ninth century. Mr. Okakura (*Ideals of the East*, page 135), speaks of the embodiment of the Indian idea of Kâli in the Japanese Goddess Kari Teime, the Mother Queen of Heaven, which originated from the Heian period (800-900 A.D.), apparently under the influence of the Esoteric Nikka doctrine, ascribed to Amogha Vajra (746 A.D.) the ancient sacrifice of blood having been replaced by the offering of a pomegranate in the case of the Japanese counterpart of the Mother-Goddess of Bengal.

I have reserved for the concluding portion of my note the account of the hut-roofed temple of *Pancha mukha Lingam*, which, in my opinion, should be conserved without delay. This is a single isolated temple of the hut type and is situated on the bank of the river almost in front of Lohaganj Akhra, a Vaisnava Monastery.

This temple, I have no doubt, must be contemporaneous with the Jor Bangla temples. The style of architecture is the same and the decorative embellishment, though not so lavish, is certainly of a quality entitling its preservation. A temple of a similar pattern at Palpara, Chakdah (E. B. Ry.), was declared an ancient monument only a few years ago. No extant specimen of this class of temple with 'Bangla' or hut-roof goes beyond seventeenth

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century, and Rai M. Chakravarty Bahadur's statement is certainly quite accurate on this point. Fateh Khan's tomb in Gour Fort, which is probably of 1069 A. H. (1658-59 A. D.), furnishes an example of this type of roof. One of the earliest specimens is the brick-built tomb of Sultan Jadu (J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 150). The imitation of such models in temple architecture in Bengal became prevalent apparently at a much later period. The phallus inside the temple is of the Panchamukha pattern—four heads of the God in the fashion of human heads being arranged round the upper part of the Lingam and one placed at its apex. There is also inside the cella an image in blackstone very probably of a Rishi or Anchorite with rosary in hand, the other hand being in Japa-Mudrâ. The image is in a cross-legged posture but the configuration of the body, the gesture indicated by the hand and the top knot on the head clearly distinguish it from icons intended for worship. A complete stone image in the round of this particular type is not quite common and as such it ought to receive some attention though possessing not much of artistic merit nor anything of instructive technique.

III.—ART IN THE INDIAN COLONIES.

By WILLIAM COHN.

I.

WHEN we speak of colonies gone forth from India within ancient history, we must dismiss from our thoughts colonies in the European sense of the word. Military occupation was of rare occurrence—it would seem that in most cases motives of religion urged the colonists to leave their homes. Wherever the native Indians came, Brahman or Buddhist believers alike, there an unprecedented growth of religious, literary and artistic evolution followed. Both the natives of the mother-country and the daughter-lands were dwellers in the same warm latitudes, in their case the conflict of breed and blood was trifling compared with the clash between Indian tribes and European conquerors and colonizers. Nor was, strange to say, the caste system a serious obstacle to the formation and rise of new states and nationalities. No matter how it may have come to pass, certainly the manifold frictions that must have existed cannot have been of an irreconcilable nature. Otherwise such rich and vast states could not possibly have sprung into being.

Taken in its widest sense the term colonies of India comprises a field of almost unsurveyable extent. Which are the countries we ought to assign to it? To the north of India, Cashmere, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and Turkestan; to the south, the Island of Ceylon. Eastwards must be included, Assam, Burma with the former realms of Tegaung, Prome, Arakan, Pagan, Ava, Pegu, Toungoo; Cambodia; Siam with its several principalities, especially Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok; Champa (Anam); Laos, that is, the present French Indo-China. Then also the lands on the Malay Peninsula; lastly, Java with her different territories and the surrounding islands, especially the only lately discovered realm of Cri-vijaya in Sumatra. In all these parts the intellectual influence of India has become dominent. China alone was able to hold its own against it. To gain a complete insight into the whole extent of Indian colonial art is as yet impossible. Single examples of art work in some places are well known, but a clear conception of the growth of the whole is very often lacking. Least is known about the art of Cashmere, of Nepal and Tibet. If perhaps one has patiently learnt to distinguish between Nepalese and Tibetan workmanship, one can hardly boast of much science. Of the art of Champa and Laos, we are only now beginning to gain some tangible information. The place it occupies within the sphere of Indian art cannot as yet be stated with certainty. However, it appears.

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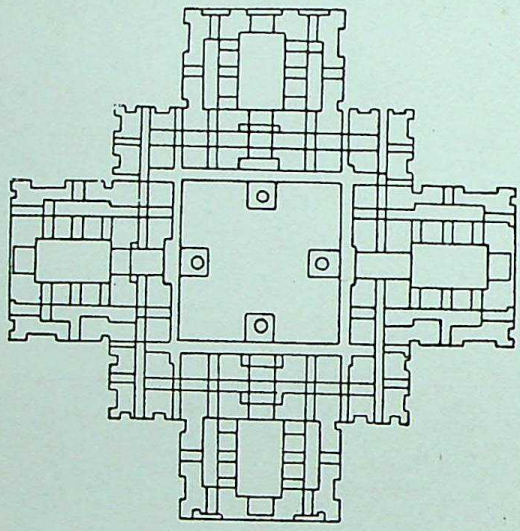
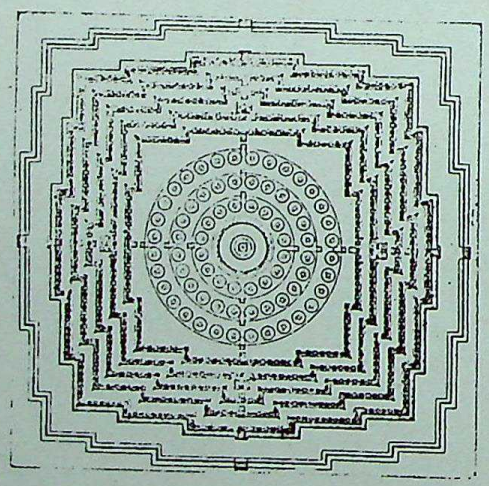
to be of minor importance. In other regions we have a clearer view only of those periods in which the Chinese influence predominated; this is the case of Turkestan and Eastern Indo-China. On the contrary, Ceylon was so closely tied to continental India by her civilization and near neighbourhood, that it is preferable to consider both art-styles together as intimately connected. In short, under the term colonial art of India, we must include in the first line the art of Burma, Cambodia. Siam and Java. And surely each and every one of these regions encloses a wide range of artistic styles quite large enough for the study of a whole lifetime. If we attempt a general survey, we can only point out connections, give merely suggestions and outlines.



Plan of Ananda Temple, Pagan



Plan of Stupa of Borobudur

II.

The search for external influences in art is in the great majority of cases much overdone and it diverts the attention from essential points. Many are prevented thereby from correctly judging the great Asiatic art sphere. Some connection, though nearly always of no account, is unduly emphasized and thus the student's impression is falsified, his view is obscured. In our case of colonial art, however, the question whence it originated cannot be evaded, and here it will lead to essential discoveries. Only by comparing the colonial art with that of the mother-land we can estimate aright the creative power of the daughter-land. Hitherto we have just begun to investigate in detail the relations between colonial and continental Indian art; this research is still proceeding. Nevertheless, it may be feasible to establish at least a few main points. The first known flow of colonists apparently emanated from India in the centuries about the beginning of our Christian Era, most of these were probably Brahman Indians. Monuments testifying to this early immigration in the colonies are extremely rare. Undoubtedly Indian forms were introduced at that time. But most of the buildings were made of wood, so that only few remnants have survived. The eastern expansion from India seems to have reached the greatest height at that period which, from the then mightiest dynasty of the Guptas, bears the name of the Gupta period, between 300 A.D. and the death of King Harsha in 647 A.D., who himself, however, did not belong to the Guptas. The Kingdom of the Guptas comprised the entire Northern India up to the Narbada. But also in other parts of India great kingdoms existed, lands teeming with populations; that of the Chalukya in Deccan since the middle of the sixth century and in Southern India that of the Pallava. Evidently from those three centres, the potency of which in civilizing greater India we can hardly appreciate highly enough, the decisive artistic impulses in the colonies have

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Fig. 1 Ananda Temple, Pagan (Burma), 11th Century

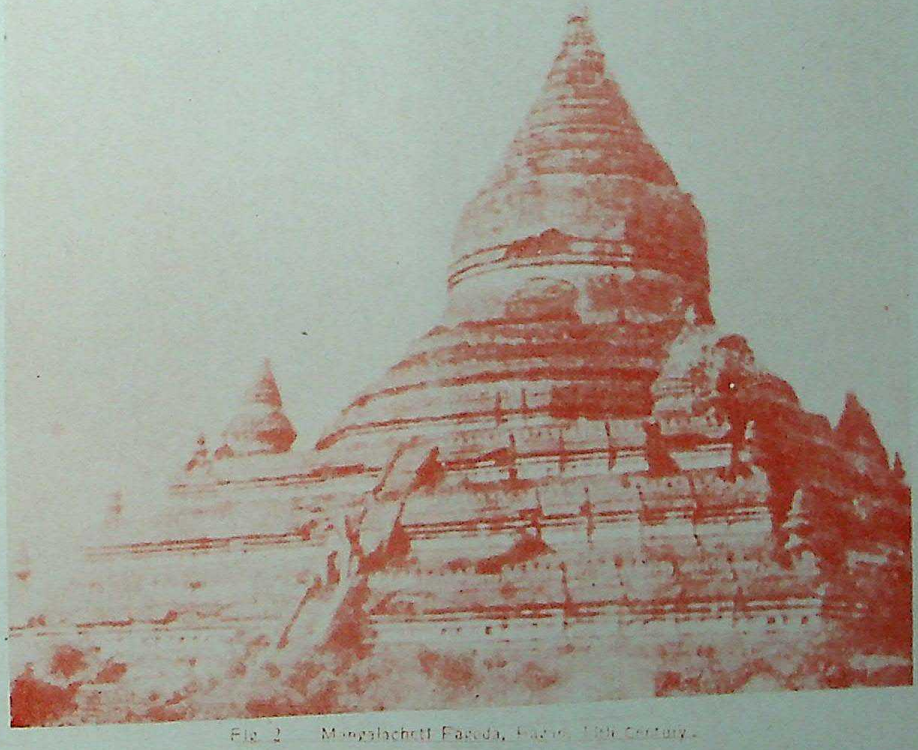

Fig. 2 Mongalachetti Pagoda, Pagan, 13th Century.

Fig. 3 Facade of the Temple of Angkor Vat, Cambodia, 12th Century

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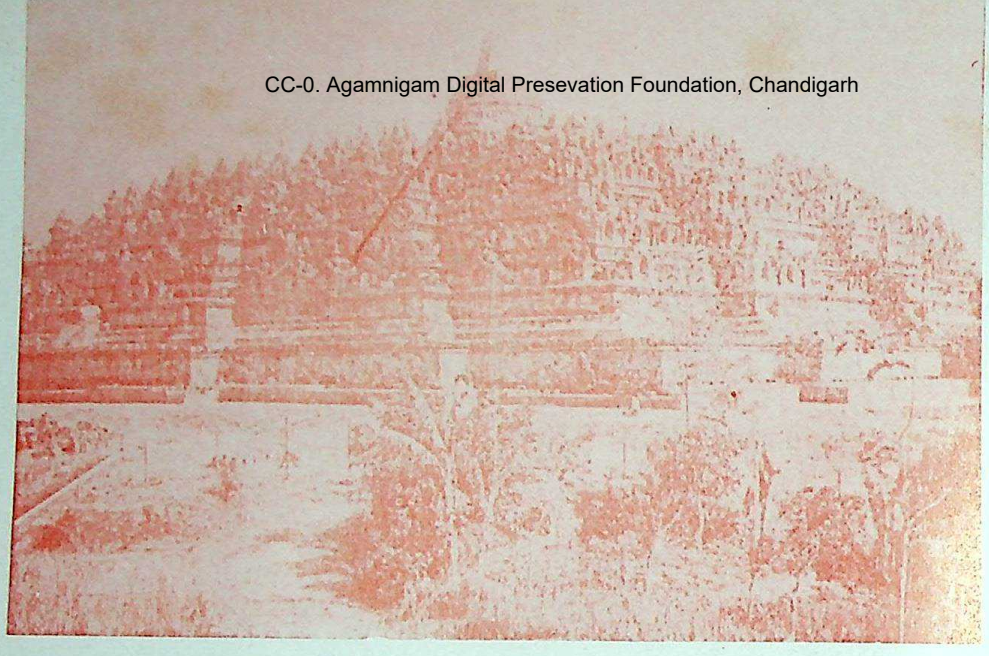

Fig. 4 Stupa of Borobudur, Java, 8th Century

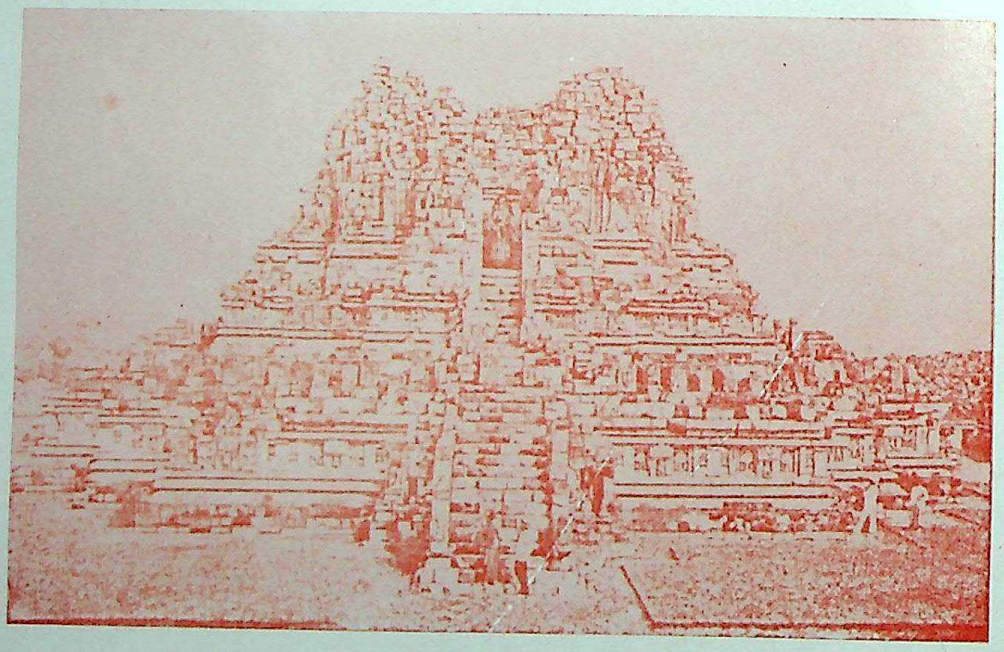

Fig. 5 Shiva Temple, Loro-Jonggrang Group, Prambanam, Java, 10th Cer

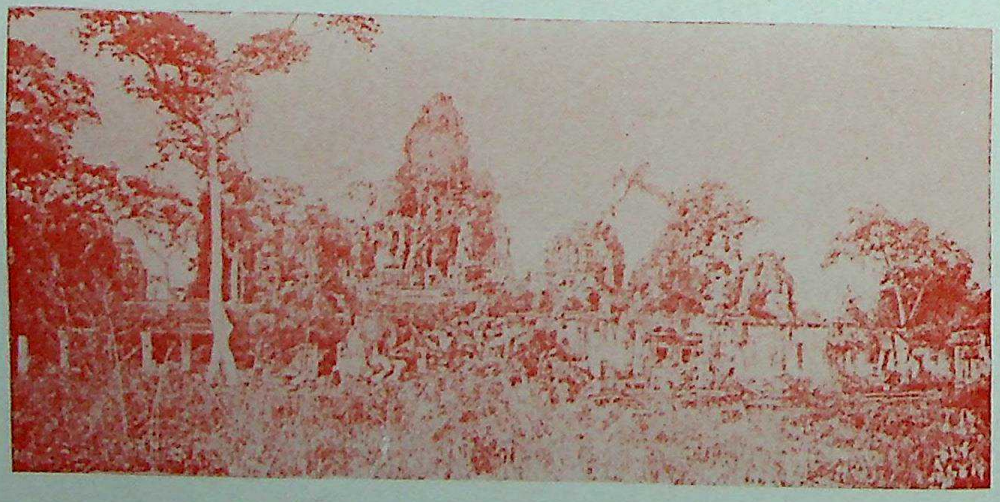

Fig. 6 Bayon Temple at Angkor-Thom, Cambodia, 9th Century

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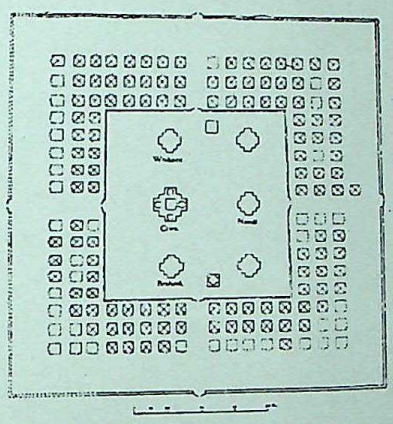
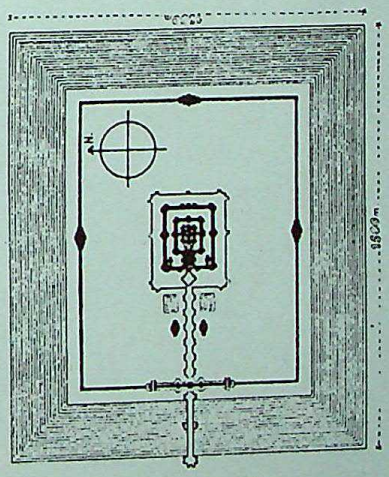
gone forth. Investigating more closely one must never loose sight of the destruction which has taken place in the home-land and the colonies. In the first line all wooden structures have vanished. Their numbers and splendour, revealed to us partly by designs sculptured on stone, can scarcely be over-estimated. Beside them in the colonies stone buildings in greater number were perhaps only beginning to come into vogue at the time. To draw clear and certain conclusions from such incomplete proofs is often rendered difficult, partly even impossible. However, we may confidently state that within the period extending from the seventh to the twelfth century everywhere in the colonies a new art of a special and national type arose. It is often but quite erroneously believed that continental Indians were the builders of the grand colonial art-monuments. Surely they came into being in the same manner as colonial architecture does everywhere. Rather slavishly copied work came first, or else the work of immigrated masters. Such early models were never quite abandoned in the later stages. Then, intercourse with the mother-land having grown more active, travellers visited the old country and, returning, brought back new notions, descriptions, and plants. Now and then only the help of a foreign master or workman may have been made use of. With the gain of political power and available means the colony grew self-reliant. At length the first great work, imbued with the national genius, is completed. To-day even we might to a certain extent be able to show in detail out of which patterns the new art was developed. Thus one might trace the changes with the horse-shoe (or lotus leaf) arch over doors and windows, one of the oldest Indian structural decorations, has undergone in the different regions, or perhaps the ground-plan and elevation of the stupa, or again the different kinds of towers.



Plan of Loro-Jonggrang Group



Plan of Angkor-Vat

III.

What are the special and distinctive signs common to Indian colonial art? Typical, it seems, is a tendency to create huge structures according, throughout, to one single, expressive, well-considered plan, the like of which the continental home-land, to-day at least, cannot show and perhaps never could have shown. Preference is given to monumental terraced buildings culminating in a centrally placed peak. A construction of terraces, though of roofed ones, is the temple of Ananda in Pagan, Burma, dating from the ninth century. The stupa of Mangalachiti, also at Pagan, completed in 1274 A.D., has a striking resemblance to the stupa of Boroboedoer in Java of the eighth century. In both the square terraces are enclosed by open galleries receding upwards. Flights of steps ornamented with gates scale the height. On the upper-most terrace stands the chief stupa, on the corners smaller ones. One might be led to think that the design of Boroboedoer had been followed up and developed, concentrating more strongly the Indo-Javanese structural idea, but on the other hand rendering it simpler and poorer . . . Materials and ornament also cannot bear comparison with Boroboedoer. Direct communication of

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Burma with Java is, however, less probable than a derivation of both buildings from an unknown third model, perchance to be sought in India of the Gupta period. It is on such connection with a common prototype rather than on any mutual influence that in ancient times the frequent relation between separate spheres of greater Indian art will be found to depend. The two greatest temple buildings of Cambodia are constructed of terraces narrowing upwards; the Bayon at Angkor-Thom in the ninth century and the temple Angkor-Vat in the twelfth century. Angkor-Vat, however, is not strictly centered, the main body being slightly shifted to the rear. This emphasizes the idea of a gradually rising ascent, whilst the ground-plan of Boroboedoer invited a walk around through the galleries. The former style is more Hinduistic, the latter Buddhistic. Instead of stupa-domes of Buddhist style, the Hinduist towers are reminiscent of Southern India. We could multiply at will the examples of such huge temples, but we will only mention of the Loro-Jonggrang group of Prambanan in Java dating from the tenth century so as to name at least the most memorable buildings of the Indian colonial lands. It is an assembly of one hundred and sixty-four separate edifices, distributed symmetrically over three terraces. On the highest platform eight greater temples are placed, of which the most extensive chief structure dedicated to Shiva in itself again consists of steeply rising terraces.

On all these buildings prevails one kind of ornament; friezes of vast length sculptured in relief and representing Buddhist or Hinduist legendary lore. There again, in quantity at least, the colonies have outdone by far anything the mother-land ever produced. We may even go further and maintain in this respect all that the world of art, as far as yet known has accomplished, is here surpassed. The frieze of the Parthenon at Athens measures in length some 520 inches, that on the great altar of Pergamon, about 350 inches. What now are the corresponding dimensions in the Far East? The cycle picturing principally scenes from the great epics Mahabharata and Ramayana at Angkor-Vat spans some 3,000 inches, the cycle of Buddhist, mostly Mahayanist illustrations at Boroboedoer even almost 10,000 inches. The lengths of sculptured reliefs on the Shiva temple in the Loro-Jonggrang groups and of the smaller reliefs of burnt clay on the Mangalacheti stupa come near to the first named number. Of these latter reliefs, by the way, more than hundred original examples may be seen in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin. We have quoted only numbers, but also in artistic quality these relief-cycles can well bear comparison with renowned European works. The consummate mastery of narration, now epically broad, now dramatically stirring, never ceases to surprise. The diversity in composition and motion, flowing evenly or violently strained, but ever bound and conforming to the surface, reveals to the artistic beholder an endless variety of enchanting visions.

Indian colonial art, moreover, is especially remarkable for the hardly believable quickness of execution. Ideas from every quarter are evidently in a moment seized, elaborated and transformed into novel shapes. The buildings even must have sprung forth like tropical plants after the first reviving rain. But quite as speedily as those civilizations grew, they seem to have faded away again. Suddenly buildings and towns of fabulous opulence, hardly finished, lie deserted, and the tropical virgin forest clasps their site again in its stifling and running embrace. Continental India seems to have experienced fewer such abrupt changes of growth and decay. The colonial buildings therefore rarely, as to their intrinsic merit, attain to the full height of the mother-country. Whereas in Indian art we find the expression of deep passion and overwhelming spiritual and bodily suffering, see it germinating and slowly ripening—the art in the colonies often —the later the more, borders on mere subtleness, or even on superficial and somewhat showy splendour. That is no less evident in architecture than in sculptural art, especially in round plastic figure work. In the last centuries the art of Burma and Siam especially in the town of Rangoon, Amarapura, Mandalay and Bangkok, is devoid of other than decorative beauty.

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IV.

Leaving out the colonies, our view of Indian art is incomplete. The relation is not unlike that between the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor and their mother-land. Just as the great altar of Pergamon, for unity of artistic conception, has nothing to match it in the Grecian home-land, no less the Ananda temple at Pagan in Burma, the temple Angkor-Vat in Cambodia, the stupa of Boroboedoer and the Loro-Jonggrang group in Java are without a parallel in India. The relation of the golden age of colonial art to the continental is somewhat like that between our periods of baroque and classical work; their phases of evolution resemble those in the Western World. The essence of baroque implies grandeur of architectural style, an outward trend of religious feeling, and a delight in the richest display of ornamental and figurative art. All these are also distinctive qualities of Indian colonial art. Its intimate analogy with the European baroque is, of course, only a result of converging circumstances. Real influence through contact with the distant Western World it had not experienced. On this statement—strange to say—we must lay particular stress. For the alleged "victorious inroad of classical art" into the Far East by the intermediate stages of Gandhara and Central Asian art is believed to have touched even the Indian colonies. Not the least trace of this can be perceived in architecture and in plastic art only quite subordinate features, if any, can be adduced. These are Europocentric exaggerations of art-blind influence-hunters! Instead of dwelling on such prejudices one had better ponder on the singleness and speciality of this mighty and self-contained art-sphere. Let us picture artistic life such as it must have been here in the Far East during the eighth and ninth century! The stupa of Boroboedoer was under construction or completed; also the town of Pagan in Burma with its countless temples, thousands of which, dating from all periods up to the destruction in the thirteenth century, still exist to this day. Likewise the grand structures of the Angkor-Thom, of which the Bayon temple is the centre. In Ceylon, Polonnaruwa was just chosen as the site of the new and splendid capital. In continental India at the same time the fabulous Kailasa temples of Ellora was carved from the rocky crag and the caves of Elephanta were being adorned with one of the most wondrous effigies of gods that religious fancy ever has produced. Turning our eyes further eastwards we see in China the glorious T'ang dynasty on the throne and in Japan Nara and later on Kyoto —full of buildings coming into existence. What could contemporary Europe parallel to this magnificence which perhaps at no time or place was ever equalled? Considering the sides that the Islamic power just then was approaching a climax, Europe may be seen to shrink away to a mere appendage of Asia, which it really was in a truer sense than many among us can realise. It cannot be repeated too often that the student and lover of art should give more than a passing attention to these subjects, that he ought to view them seriously and respectfully, not only as matters of ethnological, historic and religious interest but first and foremost as works of art. For even in the colonies of India, in those seemingly secluded regions, inhabited by dark-skinned nations, in countries that fill so small a space on our misleading charts, but in reality occupy almost the extent of a whole world-continent, works of art have been created which, compared to the best of their kind in the whole artistic world, can fairly hold their own.

IV.—SOME PERSIAN MINIATURES.

By THOMAS SUTTON.

PERSIAN art enjoys considerable appreciation outside the confines of the Persian Empire. In Europe a taste for things Persian is widespread, and has been since those days in the dawn of modern history, when the Venetians first introduced the carpets and rugs which appear in the paintings of Holbein and

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but originality of ideas began to wane. None the less, it is to the reign of Shah Abbas, 1587-1629—the "Glorious" period of Persian history—that we owe the production of many wonderful examples of typical and characteristic Persian manuscripts. Most of these are illustrations to the Shah Namah of Firdusai. In fact, this epic poem of heroes and kings was considered the only book worthy of being perpetuated during those mighty days. The best known of the Persian artists of this period is Riza, and many of his works are very charming, though lacking the genius of Bihzad. They are perhaps the best known to Europeans of any of the Persian artists. He challenges comparison with Hokusai in this respect, for, like the Japanese artist, his works were very numerous, and deal with those little intimate scenes of everyday life. The greybeards chattering in the market-place; the housewife bargaining with the vendor of charms, sweetmeats or perfumes; the lady offering her lover a cup of wine (a never failing subject in Persian pictures); the Dervish dancing before a crowd of wondering onlookers. All these and similar scenes were familiar to the brush of Riza Abbasi. Perhaps he lacks the humour of Hokusai, but he equals him in neatness of observation and quaintness of detail. The world of art loses from the fact that Riza did not reproduce his drawings for the delectation of the multitude by means of woodcuts as did the Ukiyoye artist of old Japan.

Modern reproductions, direct from original drawings, though they are, somehow lack the individuality of the Japanese colour prints executed as they were under the artist's own supervision.

It is interesting to note that the Elzevir edition of "Persia seu regni persici status," Leiden, 1633, contains six woodcuts after miniatures of the Riza School. From the end of the seventeenth century onwards, amongst many good examples of minute work and copies of earlier periods, are found those curious examples of European pictures and subjects so similar to the Chinese porcelain of the same period which was painted for Europe. It appears that the Shahs eagerly encouraged their artists to copy anything that was foreign. Eventually this habit of assimilating what was tawdry and insipid specially from Europe, crushed the original virile art of Persia. So much was this the case that by the middle of the nineteenth century, with a few exceptions, the art of painting in miniature was lost.

We illustrate a few typical examples of Persian Drawings. These we have chosen rather for their simplicity of design than as specimens of remarkable workmanship. This type reproduce better than those drawings containing many figures, and yet give a clear conception of the older Persian ideals. Such drawings as these are still obtainable by collectors. Certainly the prices are not low, but good art never was and never will be cheap. It is perhaps not generally realized that the prices originally paid for these works were far greater than now obtained. One seldom reads of the artist who, through a hard and perhaps embittered youth, eventually rose to greatness. No doubt even in the "Golden" days of Persia it was the fate of Genius to struggle against adversity and neglect, for after all it could only have been the favoured few who basked in the luxury of a Feudal Lord.

The impression left on our minds by the drawings of such men as Bihzad and Mirak, is similar to the feeling of peace and tranquility given by the illuminated manuscripts and Books of Hours worked in the Monasteries and Convents of France and Italy from the eleventh century onwards. It is easy to visualize a Persian artist sitting out of doors, in the shade, looking through the open gate of his courtyard and seeing the life, turmoil, and brilliant colouring of the bazaar, while he himself worked in peace.

His subjects lay before him, already composed in front of blue tiled cupolas of mosques or palaces. The green cypress trees waving against a cloudless sky. With such a background can we wonder that he produced works which have continual charm, and which give us some of the pleasure which he undoubtedly felt when painting them.

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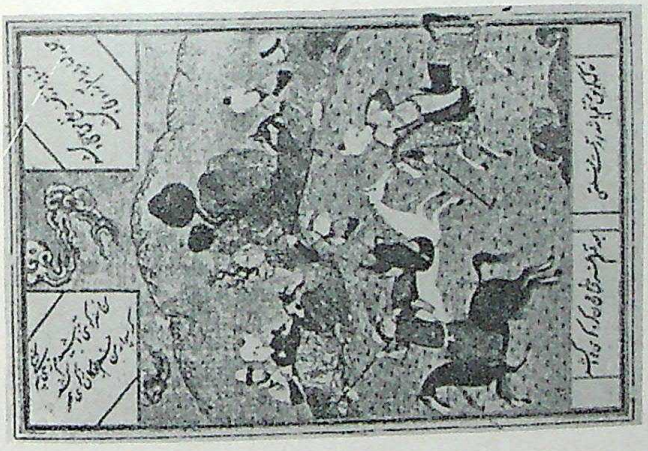

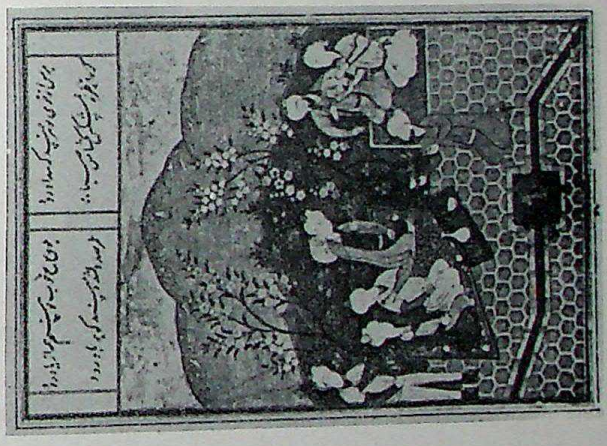

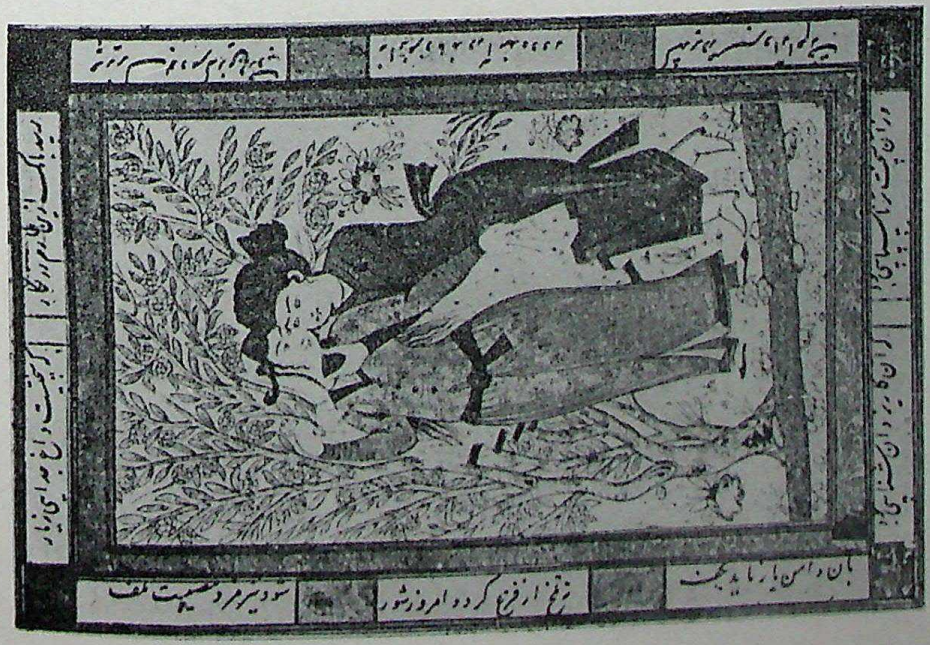

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V.—ABANINDRANATH TAGORE.

By JUEL MADSEN.

(In collaboration with F. Firminger.)

MY acquaintance with A. N. Tagore's art is several years old and was introduced through European books of art. Before my visit to India Tagore, being the only living Indian artist I knew anything about, was to me the sole representative of Indian art. Although I had only seen his pictures in reproductions in which the lines were without the beauty and elegance of the originals and completely without colour, I remember the profile of a man so full of soul that I still keep the impression of it. A representation of this kind is not a bad one.

Now I have some more ideas about him.

When I think about our old European art of Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, France and England, and when I compare his work with the new art of France, England, Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia, I cannot find a painter to replace him. Modern European art is strong and full-blooded compared with his art which is cultivated, fine and pale. European sculptors work with great blocks of stone and marble and painters, with big canvases, broad brushes and oil-colours; the artists of the East paint miniature pictures and water-colours. It seems as if artists from all European countries and the United States like to face big monumental works, to use fervour and energy, even physical strain. Tagore, who I still think is the leader of Indian art, makes pictures of small size and is interested in the line fine as a hair, not in the strong character of the line; and in soft filmy colour instead of the European dense heavy oil-colour. It is an easier task to work out a small picture than a big one, and in this direction it seems as if Tagore is less clever than European artists, but on the other hand, regarding fine lines and colour, Tagore is second to none in the West. Segantini is the artist I just now remember who is most like him.

My appreciation of Tagore's art has become stronger since I have met the man himself, and since I have got to know his latest pictures in the exhibition in Samavaya Mansion, which seems to be more perfect than anything he has done before. Also a visit to his beautiful old patrician home in Calcutta has revealed him as an artist and a man of culture all through. How different is the taste and culture in this house from other wealthy but terribly distasteful Hindu houses I have seen.

"I have seen the exhibition of oriental art which is a protégé of yours, and god to know the movement in Indian art of which you are the father and master." I got into a conversation with him one day and continued, laughing, "I was greatly surprised because all your pupils paint very small pictures, and because not one of them has painted a picture with sunshine,—yet here in India you have plenty of sunshine."

"It is because we Indians do not see the sun. You, who come from a country in which everything is covered with cold and mist, see the sunshine here first, and notice it more than we do. But suppose you look out on a clear blue sky and then you are told about somebody who is killed. At once you find the sky grey and the landscape dark. We Indians do not paint things as they are, we paint from the feelings which possess us and we paint ourselves."

"But you do not always feel as if somebody has been killed."

"We are never glad—there is no smile in India—the children do not play in the streets; they do not even smile."

"Do you feel like that because of something outside yourselves?" He will not say it is because India is a conquered land, which I felt was what he was thinking. "It is very difficult for us Indians—but we also carry the darkness in our soul, I have to admit. We look into ourselves more than you do, and that is why we have so many Philosophers."

"You have only one school of art that paints entirely in Indian style—this one of

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yours? Do all your pupils paint in your style?"

"No, I don't force them. I try to direct the individuality of every pupil. You cannot force an art pupil to do anything, not even to accept Western culture. We do not understand the West. It is possible to have schools for drawing but not schools of art. Art is not to copy, and nobody can give Indian art European clothes; but it is as if it is getting lighter for us now. We have past midnight of the dark night. People are beginning to understand how necessary it is to have art."

"Is it necessary to have art?"

"We can't live without it. The race would go back to barbarism and life would be more and more dull and barren every day. Nature tells us to live like animals. Our old books in Sanskrit tell us about the laws of æsthetics very clearly, giving us everything condensed, as the doctor gives us pills. They tell us much about literature, but also about art, as the laws for all kinds of art are the same. European writers such as Ruskin and Tolstoy say that art is goodness and usefulness. Our books put it differently.

"When the whole world was created, the sky, the clouds, the mountains, there was nothing left for man to do and he felt unsatisfied. 'Where is my work,' he asked, 'shall I be the beggar of food?' It is right when you do not pay the bill in the hotel to live; it is because the manager is merciful towards you. Then man got the creating instinct. He became the second creator. The man who made fire was the first artist—not scientist; he did not know the laws of nature. That was the beginning of art. Art has different laws from nature. Stone and iron fall to the ground obeying the laws of nature. 'I will make iron fly,' said man, and did so. God could not make iron fly without man's help. But the artist works in friendship with the Creator. God gave wood but he could not make a stool.

"The landscape painter, who gives you an ordinary view of a town such as Benares, Darjeeling, or Calcutta, is not a great artist. Those towns are already created. The man who makes the chair is a greater artist; he gives something of himself.

"The artist is a far higher being than the ordinary man. Take the finger. Nature said to the finger: 'take and feel.'

"When the musician, also an artist, uses his fingers, he produces music from his instrument.

"The painter has got four pairs of eyes, the ordinary man one pair. The ordinary eyes tell you, 'it is night, a car is coming; it is nine or ten o'clock,' but they do not tell you what shape the monument has. These ordinary eyes only work as a telephone but the artist has another pair which is more intelligent and not only see but remember form and shape and can reproduce them. The third pair of eyes goes deeper into the meaning of things. It does not see the flower as a flower but finds out its meaning. When you look at your dress with this third pair of eyes you do not see it as clothes, perhaps you see it as flowers.

"The fourth and most powerful pair are the eyes of imagination. They see the unseen things in nature. They create forms which never were in nature. They are the eyes of the soul. Shade the eyes and you cannot see. With these eyes a blind man can see. Thus I can increase the amount of eyes the artist uses, but these four pairs are the most important.

"That is why the ordinary person cannot see for himself what the artist shows him. The ordinary man has to use the artist's eyes or spectacles. That is why a picture explains itself better than nature. It is like a school-master. One colour says, I am here for this purpose, a form says, I am here for that purpose.

"Science finds out things, constructs; but art helps and works out the selections. Science says, so many lenses of that shape draw the landscape near, but it is an artist who makes the lenses. In India we have got 64 arts. Scientists can be artists, too, if they are great.

"That is why art is more important for man than science—even religion,—everything.

"That is why it is so necessary,—why, we cannot live without it. Either we have to live like animals and birds, or we must have art."

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Yours Sincerely
Rabindranath Tagore

After a charcoal sketch by J. Madsen.

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That is the way Tagore talked to me. It sounds foreign in our European ears, but when I am standing before his pictures I think like that. Everywhere, all over the world, art has grown up and the laws are the same in India as in other countries. Art grows big and prolific when conditions are good and gets weaker and weaker with weakening culture and poverty. Art is like the flowers. Tagore himself is not one of the world's most gorgeous flowers in the gardens of art, but no one has finer shape and more delicate colour than he. We have no Vedas like India, but many have written about art in the same spirit, for example, Schiller. With this article it is not my intention to put Tagore in his right place in Indian art according to his own and Indian views. Indians themselves ought to have better qualifications to do it, although they do not all of them appreciate his work as they ought to do. I look at him with European eyes and try to do him justice amongst the artists of the world.

And, strangely enough, when I look at his beautiful pictures, I remember the European art-critic Zola said:—

"Art is given by God to man instead of the lost paradise."

VI.—"RED LILIES": A NEWLY DISCOVERED MANSUR.*

By MR. N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

JAHANGIR was a wonderful man—a temperance-reformer and a confirmed drunkard, a keen naturalist and an ardent *shikari*, a connoisseur of art and an accomplished writer, ruthless and just, lazy and weak. One of his first regulations on his accession to the throne was that "they should not make wine or rice-spirit (darbahra) or any kind of intoxicating drug, or sell them; although I myself drink wine, and drink wine, and from the age of 18 years up till now, when I am 38, have persisted in it. When I first took a liking to drinking I sometimes took as much as twenty cups of double-distilled spirit; when by degrees it acquired a great influence over me I endeavoured to lessen the quantity, and in the period of seven years I have brought myself from fifteen cups to five or six. My times for drinking were varied; sometimes when three or four sidereal hours of the day remained I would begin to drink, and sometimes at night and partly by day. This went on till I was 30 years old. After that I took to drinking always at night. Now I drink only to digest my food." (Page 8, Vol. I, "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" by Alexander Rogers.)

Let that pass; for the recital of royal infirmities is not our theme and hence we turn to the fascinating pages of "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" in which Jahangir gaily discourses on the land of Kashmir. It "is a garden of eternal spring or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows (julgaha) and the fragrant trefoil?

Verse.

"The garden-nymphs were brilliant,
Their cheeks shone like lamps;

*This picture was discovered by me in a picture album, belonging to the Habibganj Library (Aligarh district), and is reproduced here by the courtesy of Nawab Habibul-Rahman Khan, Minister of Charities, Hyderabad.

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There were fragrant buds on their stems
(or 'under their rind')
Like dark amulets on the arms of the beloved,
The wakeful, ode-rehearsing nightingale
Whetted the desires of wine-drinkers ;
At each fountain the duck dipped his beak
Like golden scissors cutting silk ;
There were flower-carpets and fresh rosebuds,
The wind fanned the lamps of the roses,
The violet braided her locks,
The buds tied a knot in the heart."

"Thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring. This year, in the little garden of the palace and on the roof of the chief mosque, the tulips blossomed luxuriantly."....."There are two kinds of lilies. That which is grown in gardens is vigorous (Balida) and fresh (lit. green) coloured, the other is a wild kind. Although the latter has less colour it is very sweet-scented."....."The flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir are beyond all calculation. *Those that Nadir-ul-Asar Ustad Mansur has painted are more than 100.*" (Vol. II, Pages 143-45)....."As far as the eye could reach flowers of various hue were blooming and in the midst of the flowers and verdure beautiful streams of water were flowing ; one might say it was a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation. The buds of hearts break into flower from beholding it." (Page 164.)

With the advent of the naturalist Emperor, the Mogul school of painting entered upon a unique phase in the history of Indian art. The artist's brush was requisitioned for drawing the likenesses of anything particularly beautiful or peculiarly novel in the realm of Nature on which the Emperor's eyes alighted. A number of masterpieces of zoological portraiture executed by the court-artists of Jahangir has come down to us and amongst them none are better known or more admired than the creations of Mansur Naqqash. In a memorable passage of his memoirs, the Emperor dilates on the leading painters of his court and writes as follows :

"On this day Abul Hasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title of *Nadir-uz-zaman*, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the Jehangir-nama, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the Masters Abdul-l-Hayy and Bihzad were alive, they would have done him justice. His father, Aqa Riza'i, of Herat, at the time when I was Prince, joined my service. He (Abul Hasan) was a khanazad of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (i.e., he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become *Nadir-uz-zaman* (the wonder of the age). Also Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title of *Nadir-ul-Asar*, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation. In the time of my father's reign and my own these two had had no third." (Page 20-21, Vol. II.)

Whilst the animal portraits of Mansur are well-known, so far as I am aware, no botanical picture by him has hitherto been found. This picture of the lily blossoms which is reproduced in the colour-plate opposite, is signed Jehangir-shahi, the work of the slave of the Presence-Chamber, Mansur Naqqash," and is enclosed within a floral border executed in gold against a background of deep blue. The outward mounting is of the conventional floral design and has to a large extent lost its glowing colours. The entire picture is the product of two or more hands working in collaboration ; for while the plant in bloom is from the brush of Mansur Naqqash, the designer, the illuminated panel on either side of it is executed by the illustrious calligraphist, Mulla Mir Ali of Herat, and it is more than probable that the conventional floral border is done by some other third person. On the reverse

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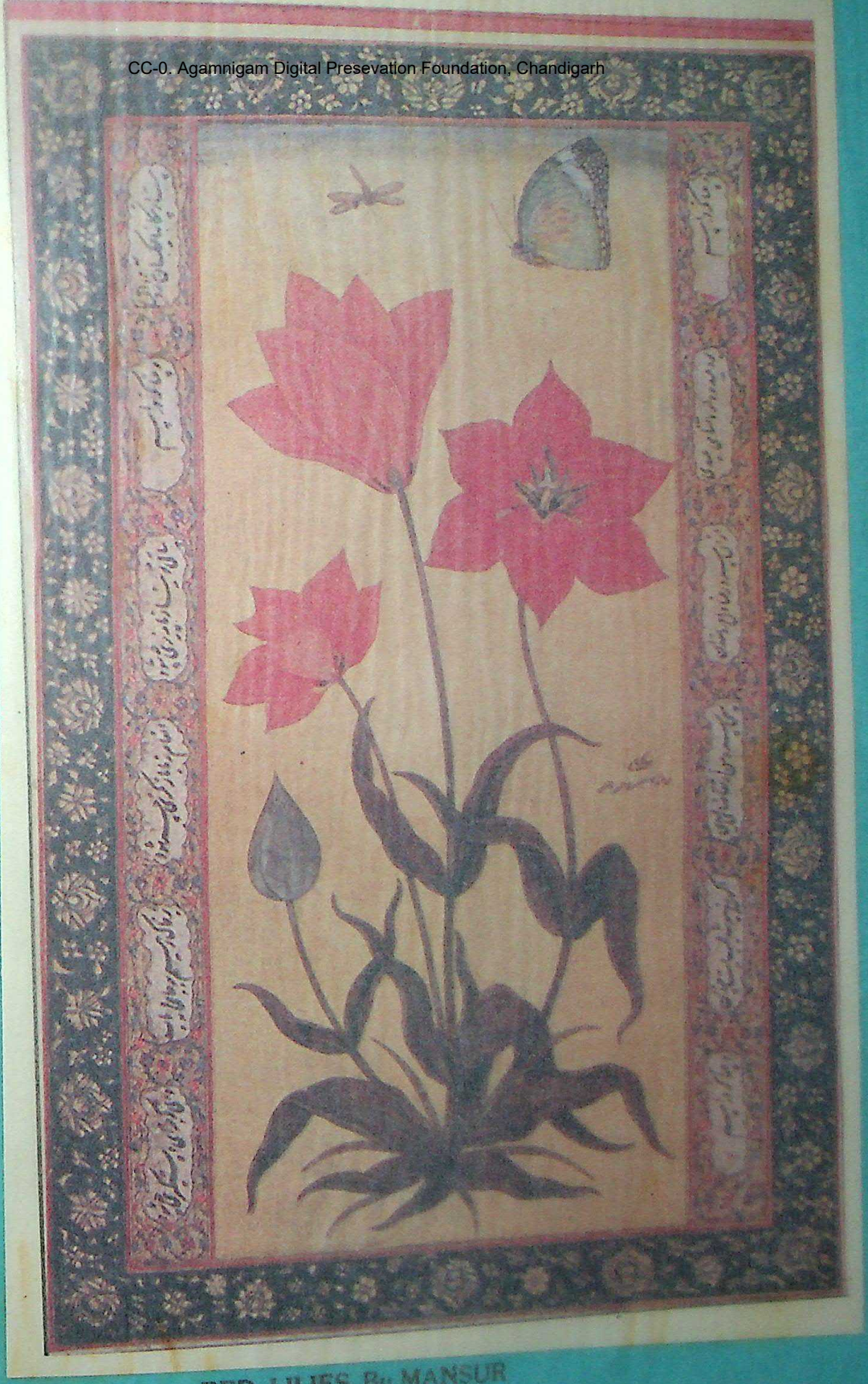

RED LILIES By MANSUR

(Mughal School)

Collection Habibgunj Library, Aligarh.
Reproduced by the Courtesy of Nawab Habibul Rahmen Khan.

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enclosed within a border is a splendidly illuminated panel of writing signed by Al Faqr Mir Ali—by the slave Mir Ali. Two verses are written in Turki, the language of Turkestan and Central Asia, probably the mother-tongue of the calligraphist in the flowing curves of the nastaliq character. They are translated as follows :— "My Mirza is the Lord of the Nation : who graces forever the imperial seat in triumph and glory. Triumph and glory will always be his, who swears fealty to his state."* In the marginal border enclosing the illuminated panel by Mir Ali is written an elaborate invocation to God in the most approved style of Eastern poetry. The couplets are literally translated as follows :—" O Lord, Thou hast put the lock of wisdom to the treasure of the heart, and wipest the dust of ignorance from the mirror of the soul. Thou art the balm for the burning wounds of the distraught and the provision for joy for those whose hearts have sunk through sorrow. Thou revealest the treasure-mines from the side of mountains and bringest the dawn of luxury in the night of grief. Thou art the asylum in the loneliness of lonely persons the altar of unity of the unique. Thou with Thy bow dischargest the arrows of rain through the Heavens, givest the flowing wine in flower-goblets. Thou art the veil of chastity of the beautiful, the sheet of mercy for those that have died the death of martyrdom." †

On the margin of the picture are a few verses in Persian which are translated as follows :—

" O, Saki,‡ what matters to Thee if Thou accede to my prayer and how does it effect Thee if what has been vouchsafed remaineth with me ;

For Thou art aware from every cup,‖ that of dust are we made and Thou knowest too the need for helping (the needy).

Let it be the auspicious Id§ and the troubled heart will long for bounties appropriate to the occasion ; (But) it will not be strange if Thou, O Beloved, look askance at the supplications for the blessings of the festival."

The calligraphic panel is sumptuously decorated with a lovely border of conventional flowers picked out in gold on a background of deep blue. On one of the leaves of the border is written, " Halkari Harif"¶ meaning probably that the border work has been finished by an equally accomplished craftsman as Mulla Mir Ali himself.

The lily flowers have been shown in full bloom on waving stalks with a dragon fly and a wonderfully drawn butterfly hovering on the top. The exquisite precision of drawing and of colouring by the Master can only be appreciated by examining the various parts of the butterfly with a magnifying glass. The dark-green of the sessile elongated leaves and the blazing red of the lily blossoms have been well brought out against a background of yellow. Mansur must have taken to botanical paintings late in his career, for Jahangir does not allude to floral paintings until the 15th year of his accession (i.e., 1620 A. D.). The accuracy of line drawing and the sumptuous colour-schemes together with the calligraphic mountings from the pen of the foremost stylist of the age would support this view. A more systematic search of private collections may yet reveal other floral illustrations from the brush of the great Master the first of his age, Nadir-ul-Asar, who was able to produce with equal ease amazingly sensitive portraits of men and animals, and astonishingly accurate drawings of plants and flowers.

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* Prof Sajjad Haidar of the Aligarh University has kindly translated for me the Turkish verses.

† The reference is to God.

‡ As the drinking goblet is made of clay and is discarded after being used but once, so is the mortal frame made of dust and useless after use.

‖ The auspicious day of the Mussalmans.

§ The whole poem is an invocation to God and each line refers to Him and His attributes in the vocative.

¶ " Harif " means a rival, a competitor, and " Halkari " means the decorated work. It is hardly probable that " Harif " is a proper name. The probable meaning is that the border-work is also of the same merit as the sumptuous illumination of the calligraphic panel.

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VII.—A NEW PAGE FROM EARLY INDIAN ART*

By THE EDITOR.

THE Lotus of Indian Art has yet to spread all its petals. According to the old poetic legend it is the loving embrace of the long rays of the rising Sun that extorts from the lotus its ruddiest kisses. The queen of the Indian flower-land refuses to respond to the coldness of the moon. And where the moonshine of the archæologist fails to unravel the beauty face of Indian Art, the latter willingly lifts the veil before the warm gaze of the admiring *amateur*.

And it is an humble *amateur* that offers in this little study a pretty little gem which it has pleased the archæologists to ignore as a worthless pebble. For it is curious to note that our little piece came up the same spade which dug up the now famous Lion-capital of Asoka in the memorable diggings at Mrigadava in 1906. While the fame of the royal memorial has travelled far and wide, our little masterpiece has quietly lain in its second burial of dust and oblivion in the mummy case of a museum unnoticed and unsung. We need not tarry here to consider why the official archæologist chose to ignore the claim of this unique little stone. Perhaps, because it is not in "Perso-Greek style," nor reveals the chisel of any Bacterian artist. For it is notorious that any piece of Indian Art which is idiosyncratically Indian, and without any touch of foreign influence, loses all charm for the archæologist. On the other hand, it is the masterpiece in which India is revealed in the true glory of her own self, as in this piece, that the true lover of Indian Art appropriately worships.

This fragment probably formed part of some coping or other architectural piece and was dug up at Sarnath along with other finds of the Mayurian epoch. It is in the same grey pinkish sandstone as the Lion-capital of Asoka. In the catalogue of the official inventory it is thus described: "No. 71. Singularly beautiful fragment of sitting woman, head leaning on hands which rest on knees. Hair floating down back; dhoti and anklets. Behind back blue lotus. Perhaps Mayurian. Height 8½ in." (Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India, 1906-07, p. 94). According to Sir John Marshall "it may be safely assigned on grounds of style to the early Indian school of the third to first century B. C." It may, therefore, belong to the Mayurian (273-185 B. C.) or the Sunga period (185-70 B. C.). But the little stone does not derive its halo from its antiquity or its association with the old dynasties famous in history. It stands unique in its æsthetic quality and the glimpse that it affords to a phase of indigenous Indian Art which the official monuments of the Mayuryas and the Sungas fail to reveal. In its fragmentary state the interpretation of its subject matter is somewhat hazardous yet tantalising. There is no doubt that it is a picture of a weeping woman. The lotus at the back has no apparent connection with the "story." It is a decorative stop-gap, and happily fills an awkward corner to dispel the "horror vacui" of the artist. The representation in the form of a tapering cone in front of the seated figure is rather difficult to decipher. Is it the *sikhara* (finial) of a stupa or the flaming dart of a fire? In its multilated state one can never say what it was meant to convey. The figure itself is pregnant with many suggestions and challenges one with a sheaf of questions which are not easy to answer. Is it the peasant girl resting her weary limbs by snatching a hasty slumber before resuming her toils, or is it a *sati* woman paying her last tribute of tears before mounting on the funeral pyre? Her face deeply buried in her arms which rest on her bare knees gives one no clue and attention is necessarily compelled on the head richly overlaid with a peculiar form of ornament much like a garland with four strings. But for their square shapes one would have liked to call them pearls. The hairs descend on the curve of the beautiful bare back, in a plait and seem to terminate in a tassel (*jhumka*) still used by old fashioned women of Northern India and Rajputana. Her *shari* is faced near the waist by a very characteristic ornament known as the *mekhala* (girdle). The heavy anklet lends its weight to the static equilibrium of the figure which has no movement of its own. For, the component lines which "picture" the figure have significant movements of their own. The curves of the garlands on the heads move in a gentle curve leading you to the top of the back, down which the curve takes you in a new movement to the end of the plait where it rests for a while to complete the curve which carries you to the girdle. If you follow the curve of the girdle you are led on the curve of the thigh on the one hand and the curve of the breast on the other. The curves have thus independent movements which do not distract the restfulness of the pose of the figure itself, to which the curves help to contribute such a unity and a coherence.

Of the three well-known female figures of early Indian Art each claims comparison with our sorrowing lady. The somewhat battered colossal figure from Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plate XIV, Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, 1911), offer some similarity in

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* Originally published in German in the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, Leipzig.

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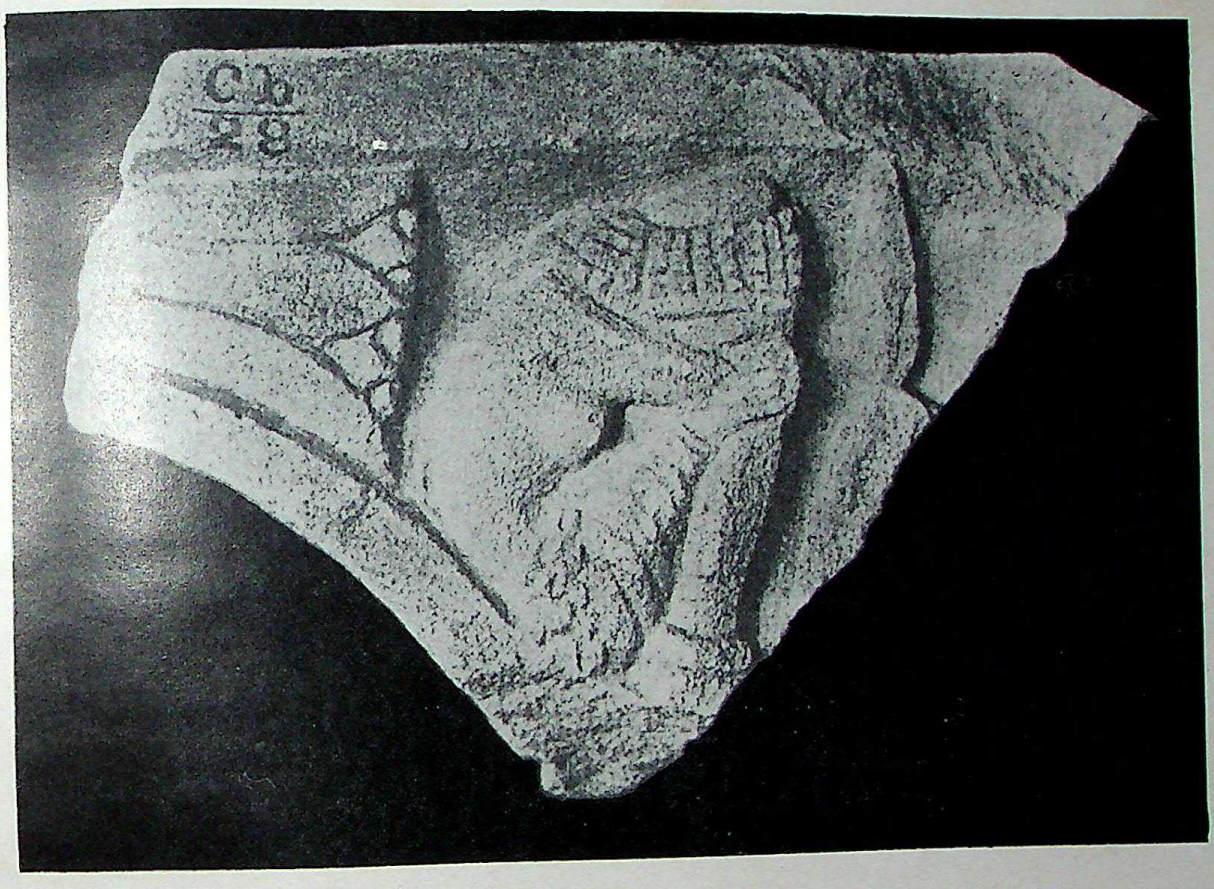

A Mayurain Fragment
[3rd to 1st Century B.C]
SARNATH MUSEUM, BENARES

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the ornaments both on the head and on the waist. The so-called Yakshini of the Patna Museum and the standing figure of Lakshmi on the relief on the ground balustrade of stupa No. 2 at Sanchi (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi,* [Plate XIII (c)] furnish a kinship of type but the similarity stops short of that. The most unique feature of our miniature relief is the artist's masterly presentation of a profile figure fitted into a narrow little space with a precision and facility which is truly wonderful. The figure posed in profile bespeaks a development in the art of the sculptor who has left the "law of frontality" many miles behind. There is nothing tentative or experimental in the treatment of the human form. The artist has developed a deeply sympathetic feeling for form coupled with a complete grasp of the character of human anatomy. The essence of grief is rendered in terms of characteristic attitudes very significant in their suggestions. They have a powerful way of telling the story with remarkable realism. There is nothing schematic or conventional about the figure. It has all the freshness and conviction of a life-sketch. It is characteristically real without being realistic. A touching subject has been translated in stone with considerable technical power. The harsh and almost straight line of the leg, casting deep shadows, contrasts with the delicate curve of the back which melts with the vanishing outline of the descending plait of hair. The arm rendered in firm yet not too much emphasised line sets off the soft contour of the breast which in the fulness of its curve echoes the fine and subtle beauty of the line of the chest. The piece of relief belongs to a chapter of art-history which must have closed in India many centuries ago. It belongs to the youth of Indian Art when her artists kept their consciousness unclouded by the trammels of forms and conventions and looked out on events and things with clear penetrating eyes. It undoubtedly belongs to the time when form had not been replaced by a formula. The little details and ornaments and the general type of the figure are so faithful to the pictures and manners of Indian life that it is impossible to postulate any "Perso-Greek," "Scytho-Parthian" or a "Greco-Indian" smell in any phase of this eloquent little epic in stone. It is out and out Indian—in its "body and soul." This artistic apotheosis of grief indeed reveals a chapter in Mayurian Art to which no clue is afforded in all the memorial *stambhas* of Asoka Mayurya, or in the richly carved balustrades of the Sanchi stupa. The art executed under royal patronage may not always represent the best thoughts of the artist. And in this little *Mater Dolorosa* of Mayurian Art we have an intimate self-revelation of the mind of an ancient Indian artist which the proudest monument executed under the Imperial decrees failed perhaps to catch. Our little masterpiece is thrilling with a lyrical tenderness which has no parallel in the forms of art that Asoka chose to celebrate his new faith. As a document for the study of the achievement of early Indian Art this little fragment of stone is of much more æsthetic significance than all the ambitious and gigantic memorials of Priyadarsi. Whatever archæologists and antiquarians may say, to us this little stone miniature sums up all that the best genius of the epoch had to say for, it indeed gives us the quintessence of Mayurian Art, which new discoveries may illuminate but will never supersede or overlap.

VIII.—VOTIVE LAMPS FROM COCHIN.

By THE EDITOR.

IN the fourth number (October 1920) of our Journal we had occasion to study some varieties of Southern Indian lamps in connection with a fine little brass lamp from Conjeveram, which we compared with the "kinnarî," and classified, with the "Dîpalakshmî," type. Indeed the latter type of lamp is the most predominating form, generally met with, in Southern India with the exception of the variety known as the "Dîpa-briksha" (lit. "lamp-trees") or the "Lamp-stands," of which we have studied some specimens in an article in *The Burlington Magazine,* July 1916. The hanging types—commonly designed in plain discs with rims for the oil, suspended from a chain—so frequently found in the Southern Indian shrines are generally devoid of any craftmanship or originality in design. Some very remarkable specimens of this type from Cochin have been brought to our notice by the courtesy of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., the present British Resident in Travancore, who is also an enthusiastic collector of Southern Indian Bronzes. Our thanks are also due to Rao Sahib K. K. Govinda Morar, the honorary curator of the Trichur Museum for obtaining special photographs for the readers of *Rupam,* which we reproduce here. Excepting the

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one illustrated in Fig. 1 all of them came from Tripunnitura, six miles from Ernakulam where the ruling family of Cochin lives. They must have formed the ritual paraphernalia of some important temples (most probably of the temple adjoining the Maharaja's Palace) and two at least (Figs. 4 and 5) must be taken to be fairly old, though it is impossible to determine their exact dates merely from the style of their designs. The lamp in Fig. 4 came from the house of Paliath Achen, who is the chief feudatory of the Cochin State. We will take the one, later in date, first (Fig. 1). It is a richly elaborated form of the usual type of hanging disc lamps, the receptacle for the oil being provided by the circular recess edged with a fluted rim. From the centre of the disc, rises a kind of tapering pedestal on which is seated the goddess of Beauty and Fortune—Lakshmî,—conceived in the type known as "Gaja-Lakshmî"—flanked by two elephants (Gaja) which are represented as pouring the sacred water on the seated goddess. The image itself is worked into an intricate background of an arch (torana) very richly worked out in a perforated design. It is in fact derived from the well-known makara-torana—the arch terminating in two crocodile faces with the usual head of the Kîrtimukha ("glory-face") at the top. The pendant chain is broken into three pieces, punctuated by two effigies one of Kârtikeya on the peacock, and the other of Ganesha, each encircled by a 'provâ,' (the arch of halo), both of which move on hinges. The whole effect of the design is that of a portable shrine of Lakshmî—and one, not familiar with these pieces, could hardly suspect that it represented a lamp. The patterns and designs of these lamps must have been long ago stereotyped and prescribed as craftsmen's formula—as the "silpasâstras" generally devote a chapter on the making of lamps and their characteristics or classifications. They are grouped into sixteen classes (sodasha-dîpa-lakshanam) of which eight are very well known: Lakshmî-dîpa, gaja-dîpa, vyâghra-dîpa, vrisabha-dîpa, garuda-dîpa, nâga-dîpa. The effigies of animals, e.g., the elephant, the tiger, the bull, the serpent, and the garuda, the mount of Vishnu—are adopted as motifs probably with reference to the presiding deity—the carrier or the mount of each symbolising the particular image of the shrine. The significance of the motives is probably derived from the idea—that the carrier or mount which is the pet of a particular deity is a suitable medium for conveying—the devotee's gift of the flame (dîpa),—his symbolised prayer,—to his "ishta-devatâ" (the cherished god of his desire). Our first example is apparently of the group of "Lakshmî-dîpa" prescribed in the "silpasâstras." The examples illustrated in figures are obviously of the class, technically called "gaja-dîpa" (Elephant lamps). One of them has a rider on its back, with a retainer sitting behind—while the other carries no rider and is accompanied by its attendant which stands by its side—giving it very affectionate attention. The massive bell tied with heavy chains round its back

Fig. 1

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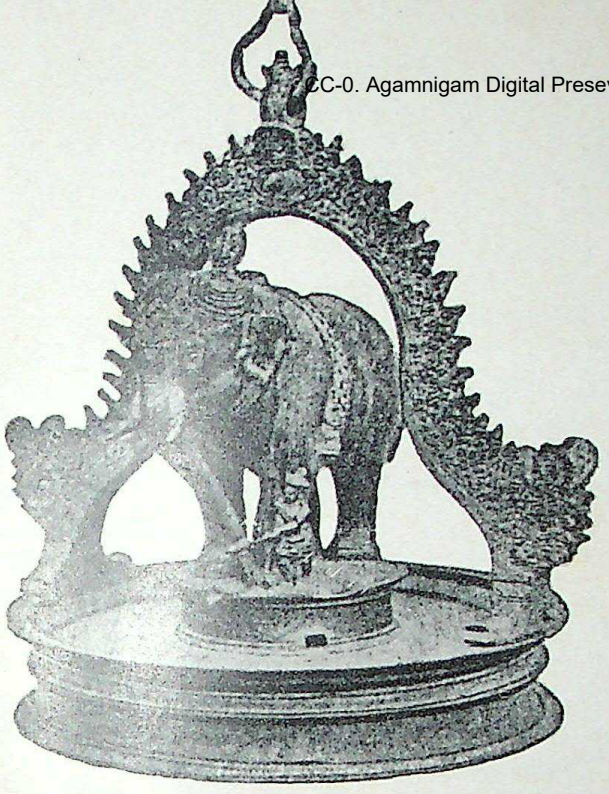

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

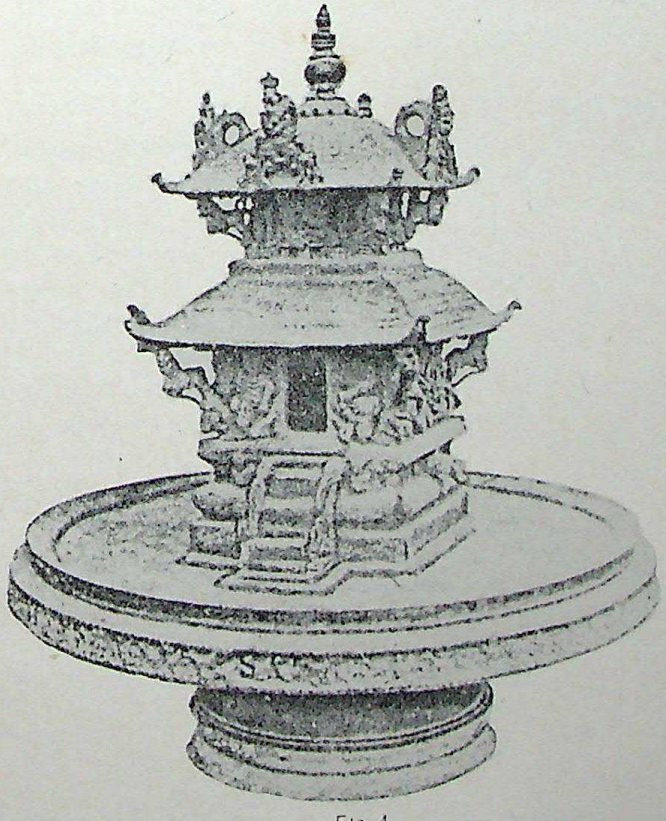

Fig. 4

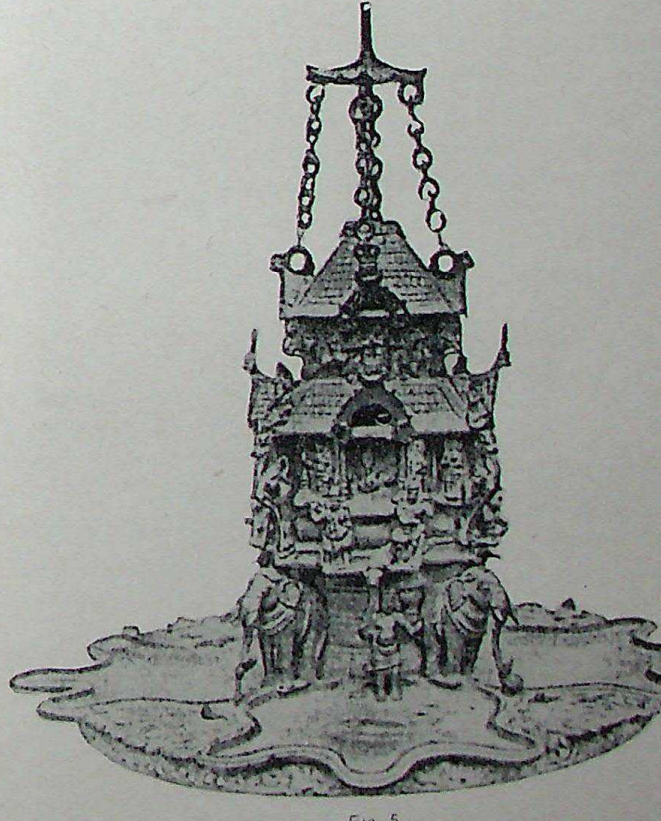

Fig. 5

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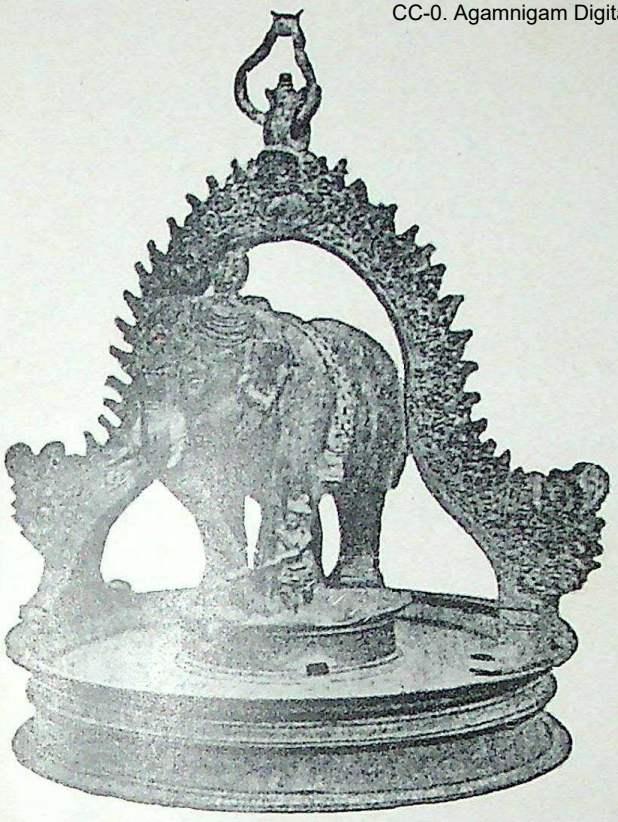

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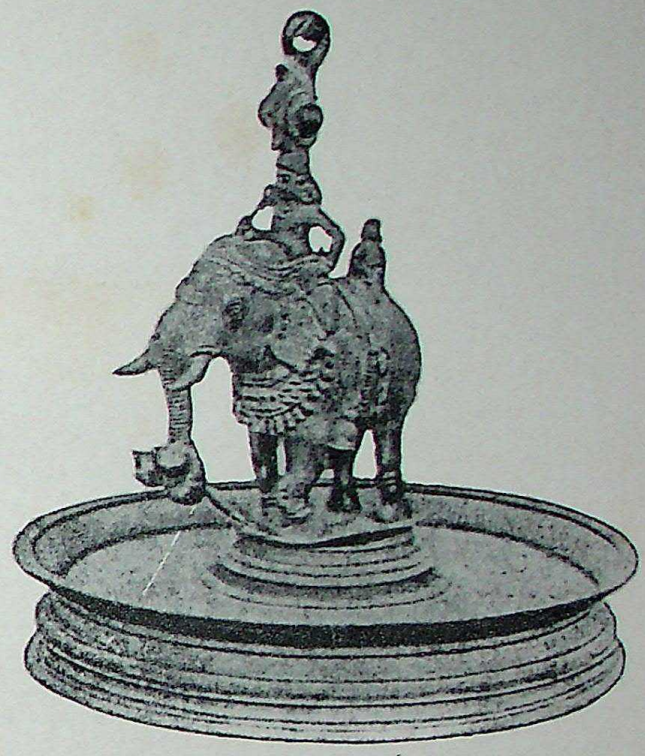

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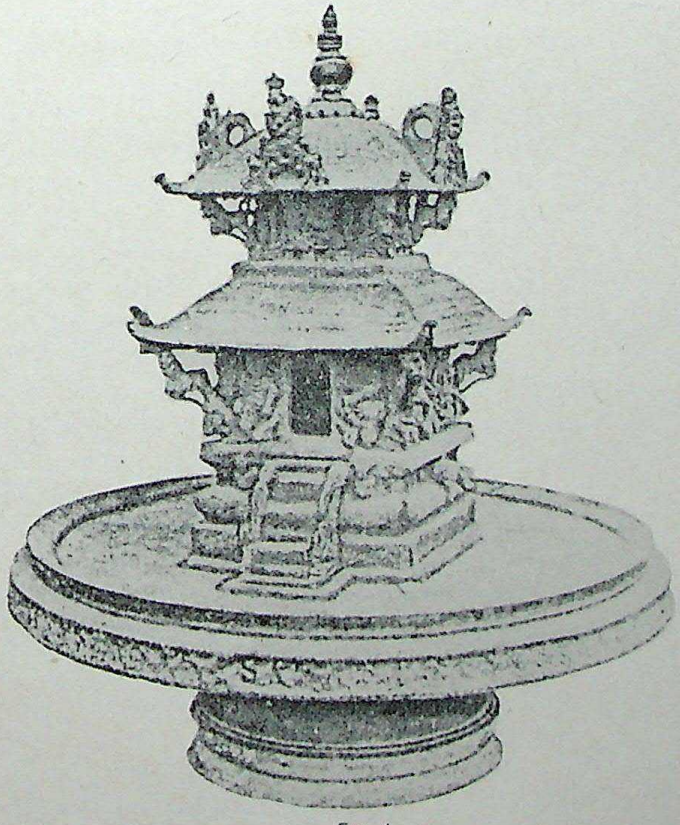

Fig. 4

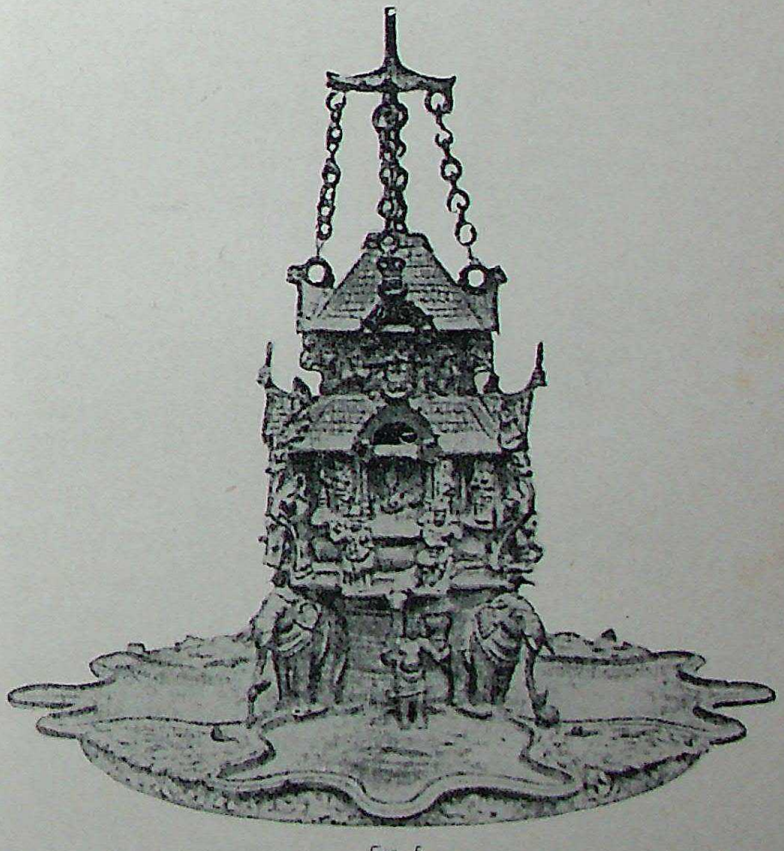

Fig. 5

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is an useful adjunct still seen in the elephants in the service of the temples, and is designed to warn passers-by of the approach of the elephants. The trifoiled arch, very finely decorated, which offers the pendant for the chain, is certainly an improvement on the other example where the chain is attached to the head of the rider himself. One is tempted to identify the latter as Ayyanaru, the god who rides on the elephant, but he has no halo and the unceremonious way in which the chain is attached to his head precludes such as a supposition.

The other examples which we are able to illustrate here from the same collection, are of interest from more than one point of view. The figures 4 and 5 actually reproduce temples or shrines in miniatures—very much like similar lamps which we know in Nepal. The idea of using a miniature temple as a motive in lamps may not have been an original Southern Indian conception—or both the Nepalese and Southern Indian designs may have descended from a common ancestor. But the most significant feature of these types of lamp—is the character of the architecture of the little temples which are depicted. They are of the well-known sloping roofs in different stages—so familiar to us in China, Japan, and also in Nepal. In a paper which we propose to publish later we have attempted to study the relation of this peculiar style in Nepal and China. But it is not very well known that the primitive style of architecture in Cochin and Travancore—was of the sloping roof style—of which many examples in wood—still survive in current building practices in Kerala. The survival of this peculiar types in two widely distant places as Nepal and Travancore offer materials for the early history of Indian architecture which has not left many traces on its stone monuments. As we have studied this feature in a separate paper we refrain from following the point here.

The two examples of two storied "temple" lamps offer two distinct stages of development. The first is a crude and a clumsy piece of workmanship—rather bold in its simplicity. The thick chains are out of all proportions to the shrine and lend it a heaviness which spoils the effect of the design. Yet the scheme of the design is fundamentally the same in both examples, and may have been based on identical canons or craftsman's practices. We may perhaps classify this type as a "rathadîpa" ("ratha" being the technical name for the body of a temple). The gable end of the roofs of the miniature temples in our examples terminate at the corners in a tilted form which looks very like a snake. If it is a Shiva shrine, it is the most appropriate symbol. On the four slopes of the upper tier are placed four dragons or lions—which may be a variation of the Kîrtimukha or the makara. They have, distinctly, pairs of legs and tails which curl up at the back forming a convenient ring for fastening the chains for suspending the lamp. Each of these "dragons" bears on its head an effigy of *trisula*, the trident of Shiva. Below the roof at each corner is a rampant *Yali*—which appears to support the ends of the roofs. The entrance of the shrine is reached by a flight of steps at the upper end of which are a pair of *ganas*, the favourite spirit—retainers of Shiva—and above them on either side of the doorway stand a pair of formidable dwârapâlas (porters). There are other effigies on the facades of each *vimana* (storey) representing minor deities or devotees which are difficult to distinguish on the photograph. It is for all intents and purposes—a replica of a full-fledged temple—probably reproducing forms at one time current in Cochin and Travancore. The effigy of the temple practically leaves very little utility to the design as a useful piece of lamp, the receptacle for the oil is only furnished by the rim circulating the base of the temple. In the other example (Fig.) the function of the lamp is not lost sight of in designing the effigy of temple. In this example—the motive of the first, with all details, is carefully followed, with additional ornaments. The "makara" is placed on a projecting arch of which eight pieces occur on the two sloping roofs. At each corner on the lower tier is a seated monkey. While the introduction of four stately

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elephants with their attendants at the base—lend a dignity to the whole composition. The elephants are represented in their favourite sport (attributed to them in Sanskrit romantic poetry), of collecting lotuses from the lakes—which are pictured in the intervening spaces between the four trifoiled recesses for the oil, which provides room for twelve wicks. On the facades of the lower storey—are represented the familiar *avarana-devata* (the "covering" deities), on e of which is the Ganesha.

The last example is indeed the most elaborately designed pattern that has hitherto been met with in this type of lamps. It must have been the work of one of those highly skilled craftsmen—who had all the details of the paraphernalia of a temple at their finger tips. They were done by other than the *sthapathis* or master architects who were as happy in designing and building stupendous temples as in shaping tiny furnitures for the religious services of the priests. Most of these lamps so elaborately designed, as the examples we have studied here, were made under special commissions from devotees who were anxious to secure spiritual merits by making votive gifts of these lamps to their favourite shrines. This is amply attested by innumerable donative inscriptions which cover the walls of almost every shrine in Southern Indian temples.

IX.—INDIAN ART CONFERENCE AT WEMBLEY.*

THE importance of the present occasion to Artists and Art lovers can hardly be overstated, and it was with a full sense of the responsibility of my task that I accepted the invitation of this learned Society to deliver an address at this Conference.

I trust that no one here will imagine for a moment that by so doing I am laying claim to the status of an expert authority on this wonderful subject of Indian Art, because that is very far from being the case. But I think you will agree with me that one need not be an accomplished student of Indian architecture, sculpture, and painting, nor have the archæologist's knowledge of the complex phases of religious, philosophical and spiritual thought which, in one way or another, influence the art of India, in order to perceive and appreciate the appeal of that message of varied beauty which India has delivered in the past and is to-day again beginning to reveal to the world.

There are certain qualities inherent in all Art, the world over, and during my period of Office in India I could not fail to recognise these qualities in the Art of that country. I am a believer in the Indian Artist and in the value of his mission to the world; it is, therefore, a great pleasure to me to be here to-day, and though I might feel some sense of diffidence in speaking before such distinguished connoisseurs as those whom I see before me, yet that diffidence is considerably tempered by the conviction that the honour done me by the India Society in inviting me to address them is due, not to my own qualifications, but to the big place more lately taken by Bombay in the development of that renaissance of Art in Western India, the wide scope and potentiality of which is probably not yet fully understood in England.

In considering the position of Art in India at the present time, it will be necessary for this audience to realise some radical differences between the situation in India and Europe.

For instance, the Art Schools in India occupy a very unique position because in that country there exist no Salons, or Academies, or other centres of Art control apart from these Institutions.

Art Schools in India have, therefore, great responsibility and great opportunities for influence and must, for the present, and I think for some time to come, be very important centres of the country's Art culture.

There are five Government Schools of Art, at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lucknow and Lahore. There are a few aided Schools of Art in Bengal, and there is of course that deeply interesting focus of artistic and literary training—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's School at Calcutta.

The Calcutta School of Art has become widely known by reason of the well-defined School of Indian Painting to which it adheres. Its students have produced many very beautiful pictures, following a convention which has been greatly admired, but it has seemed to me that there is to-day a certain loosening of the received Indian tradition so far as Calcutta's Art is concerned and that eclectic

* An Address delivered by Sir George Lloyd in Hall No. 3, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, on 2nd June, 1924, under the auspices of the India Society.

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influences are making themselves felt in the more recent work of that School which, however, retains its confirmed Oriental—if not always Indian point of view. This affirmation of an immediately recognisable Eastern convention is an outstanding feature in the work of the Bengal School of Art, although there are a number of Artists in Calcutta who do not follow it.

In the Punjab, the Mayo School of Art of Lahore is "essentially a School of Arts and Crafts" and, so far as I know, it has not yet added painting to its curriculum. But under Mr. Lionel Heath's able and artistic guidance, we may be sure that it will not be long before painting and modelling are added to the courses of that School.

But such a development must naturally be dependent upon the influences of local environment. For it is I think essential to grasp the fundamental truth that India is full of peoples and provinces with distinct artistic individualities, and that this forms really the artistic wealth of India at the present time. It is this diversity of distinct artistic individuality which is beginning to grow up.

The Schools of Arts and Crafts at Lucknow and Madras are chiefly concerned with the development of India's exquisite Crafts and Applied Arts, and Madras is so beautiful a province that if environment counts in art at all, we may hope for a great artistic awakening there.

With regard to this matter of environment, it is probable that of all the Indian Art Schools, the School of Art at Bombay is the most fortunately situated geographically, historically, and physiologically. Neighboured by the States of Rajputana with all their amazing variety of artistic manifestations, Bombay should also be able to command a near and magnificent field of patronage for Indian Art—for in what other part of India, except Bengal, shall we look for Art patronage today? Then look at the inspiring wealth and variety of Bombay's monuments of Art!

The Ajanta Caves—one of the most beautiful monuments of Art in the whole world which, (thanks to the genius of Madame Pavlova, have lately been made better known to this country),—are part and parcel of Bombay's artistic inheritance, and are only 300 miles distant from Bombay. Almost all the Indian Cave Temples are to be found in the Western country and that they together with the gorgeous artistic triumphs of Bijapur, Mount Abu, Jeypore, etc., etc., are naturally a living inspiration to students of architecture and sculpture.

Then as to Bombay itself, if we consider the unusual natural beauty of its situation, the variety and colour of its bazaars, thronged by figures that are subjects worthy of the pencil of a Leonardo or the chisel of a Pheidias; if we reckon its wealth as at least equal to that of mediæval Florence, [illegible] consider the receptivity and energy of its inhabitants: and if to these advantages we add the fact of the varied and high artistic abilities of its peoples, we shall not be surprised at this enthusiastic revival of Indian Art of which the Bombay School of Art is at present a centre. Nor will it seem strange that the Senior Indian Art School of what was probably the first province in India to give a systematic Artistic educational training, should have developed along the broadest and most many-sided lines.

I should like to dwell a little more fully on the subject of the Bombay School of Art, because I attach a very great importance to the work which it has done and is doing and it is naturally with its work that I am most familiar.

That School includes a School for drawing, and painting, both elementary and advanced, a modelling class and an architectural School—the only modern Indian Institution in the Indian Peninsula—and it has a large Pottery department, and a School for the Applied Arts and Crafts, known as the Reay Art Workshop. It also contains a School for Drawing Masters.

The extensive and vigorous nature of the School of Arts' activities and the enthusiasm of its students cannot fail to arouse in any one solicitous for the future of Indian Art the keenest and most hopeful interest.

During the period during which I was able to study its work at first hand, the conviction was impressed upon me that something very real and very permanent could be done through this School towards furthering the revival of Indian Art, and towards encouraging a general reawakening of the artistic sense which permeates so profoundly the Indian peoples: and, together with the perception of the potentialities of the School of Art, I arrived at the conclusion that the School of Art had for some time been rather lacking in objective. It became my immediate task, therefore, to try to help it to find an objective—one that should pave the way for the more universal objective to which I shall allude later on, which is so necessary to the successful progress of Indian Art to-day.

The supremacy of India in the domain of the decorative Arts is so ubiquitously impressed on the sympathetic observer, that it was natural that in Mural Painting—that Art of age-old standing in India—we should find the best means of reviving Indian Painting, and of bringing it into touch with present day needs, which is such a real necessity.

It was, therefore, with a confidence founded on conviction that I encouraged the Principal of the Bombay School of Art, whose ability and enthusiasm is responsible for all that is happening in Bombay to found a class of Indian Mural Painting assisted by scholarships, and at the same time to revive by means of Life Classes that assiduous study of the forms of Nature itself which is the sure foundation on which Art is founded. In starting to realise some of our hopes and

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aspirations for Indian Art, we felt on safe ground by beginning with the School of Art itself rather than by adopting other methods of assisting Indian artists, partly because, as my term of office happened to coincide with a period of severe financial stringency, we were doubtful as to how far expensive schemes such as Art Galleries which should house the Annual Exhibitions of the Bombay Art Society and the Art Society of India, or the purchasing upon an essential scale of works by modern Indian artists, etc., would be capable of fulfilment. But our principal motive in pinning our faith to the School of Art was that we recognised that all genuine improvement must have its source with the young; that a foundation must be carefully laid if the structure is to be permanent; and that Indian Art students must be given the fullest possible facilities of training that we can secure for them if we wish to see a really fruitful improvement in the conditions of Modern Indian Art.

It must not be supposed that Artists in India can afford to do without the advantages of a sound training, which the brightest of geniuses have sought whenever possible to secure for themselves.

I think that the speed with which the Bombay School of Art has availed itself of the opportunities placed in its way is sufficient proof of the rightness of this line of reasoning. You cannot expect Indian students to interpret from (whether decoratively or realistically) unless you give them the same opportunities for study which are accorded to their Western confreres in the European Schools of Art. I have never been able to agree with some who think that the Indian is naturally averse to the study of nature, that his Art, however, ingenious, was in short largely an Art of pattern-making.

I can imagine that there are many among us who, if they had seen the works of the immediate precursors of Cimabue, without seeing that of their successors, would have proclaimed aloud the inability of the Italians to paint anything but crudities. Would they have believed in the possibility of the advent of a Masaccio, not to speak of a Michæl Angelo?

There is no subject in which one should be more careful of suggesting limitations than the subject of Indian National Art, for its potentialities are limitless, and its manifestations are legion.

The question of public patronage for the Schools of Art has been partly solved in Bombay at any rate by the public themselves, who have supported the efforts of the students with sympathy and practical interest. Mural Painting, being better liked and better understood in India than in Europe, appeals to a large section of the Indian public. Indeed, the great increasing interest taken in Art in the Bombay Presidency, and the increasing number of Art Societies, and Art Exhibitions, are symptomatic and deeply significant.

The work of the Art Society of India—a Society presided over by the Sculptor, Mr. G. K. Mahtre, whose charming statue "To the Temple" is one of the chief attractions of Modern Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition—is showing real vitality; and I earnestly hope that that courageous Society will speedily meet with the necessary financial support for its great work which it so thoroughly deserves. Its elder sister, the Bombay Art Society, is likely to continue to be the useful vehicle for publicity for India's hard-pressed artists which it has been in the past—provided it remains in the fullest sense democratic and in close touch with the artists themselves. For the artists of India are perhaps the most absolutely representative examples of the artist type that is to be found to-day. To them the adage "Art for Art's Sake" is more than a mere saying. I have known men of real genius who, for a pittance of Rs. 30 a month, have been content to give of their best day after day to their work in the School of Art, counting the world well lost, if they could but produce the stuff that was in them. What cannot be hoped for artistically from a people who can yet produce artists of this stamp?

I most earnestly trust that the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition will receive the warm patronage of the public of this country and of overseas visitors. The sculpture and paintings there collected contain many beautiful and widely differing works from Bengal, the Punjab and Bombay, the sum-total of whose message does suggest something of the versatility of India's range in Art. The extent of that versatility will be further understood by visits to the Indian Room in the Bombay Court, for the paintings which that exhibit contains are the epitome of the methods, aims and aspirations of the students of the Bombay School of Art, and an earnest of great developments in Indian Art in the near future.

We claim that the men who could paint such panels as "Piety" and "Industry" as students are not likely to be found wanting when fuller opportunities are placed in their ways as artists. I would appeal to all lovers of Art who are desirous of making their dwelling beautiful to purchase examples of these statues and pictures, the presence of which in London is so rare an opportunity for Art Lovers, and to encourage Indian Artists to send to Europe an even more representative exhibition of their work.

The School of Art as a whole, and groups of its students, have received many commissions to paint wall decorations, the latest being the task of painting the proscenium, galleries and ceiling of the Baliwala Theatre on which the School is now employed by the architects, Messrs. Mistry and Bhedwar.

The School will probably get as much Mural Painting to do in Bombay as a School of Art needs. *It is after the students of the School of Art graduate that opportunities are required in India at the present time.*

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This is the crux of the question, and it is to this aspect of the case, the *immediate* necessity of securing opportunities for young Indian Artists after they have left the Schools that I desire particularly to-day to invite the attention of this Conference. The terrible dearth of opportunity for Indian Art will be largely corrected by the encouragement of Mural Painting: for architecture is thriving in India and the Indian Artist still shares the ideals of the old Florentines that an Artist should be an all-round man. Thus we find that our Bombay sculptors very frequently hold it as a *sine qua non* that the sculptor *must* also be able to draw and paint!

This theory has always been integral to the educational creed of the Bombay School of Art, from the time of Mr. Lockwood Kipling, who may well be called the father of the present school, to the present day. Can any one doubt of its wisdom? This close union of the Fine Arts, nowhere to-day so thoroughly understood as in India, is capable of amazing developments and justifies the demand which the Artists of Bombay have made for the fullest opportunities. That demand was lately admirably voiced by the Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze Sethna in the Council of State where he asked that Indian Artists should be allowed to paint the walls of New Delhi that India might thus benefit by this great opportunity.

Into the question of the differing methods of Mural Painting whether Indian, French, British or Italian, I do not propose to enter here. There are many methods and innumerable styles of Mural Painting.

Since my return to this country I have been impressed by the variety of the decorative efforts now being made, and have been glad to see and hear of the encouragement that is being given to the Art Students. I have been glad to see this because it is a tacit endorsement of our policy of employing the students of the Indian School of Art as far as possible to decorate the walls of India's Public Buildings, working under their own masters, a policy which, when we started to give it effect in December 1919, was regarded as a novel departure. I confess I do not lay much stress on Western analogies, because the Art of Mural Decoration is undoubtedly in a very special sense, the mètier of the Indian. The latter may be said to be a born decorator of wall-spaces. I am convinced that in no other country in the world does this inherent instinct—this astonishing faculty for decoration—exist to the same extent. The young Indian's natural power of design and astounding capacity in the decorative arts, is the basis on which all schemes for helping forward Indian Art must be securely founded. I trust that in thus stressing the importance of Mural Painting as a factor of special importance in Indian art to-day, you will not think that I forget or ignore those other decorative arts of which India is the prime mistress. I assure you that I fully recognise the value to the world of Indian brass-work, shape-making, enamelling, wood-carving, carpet-weaving and all those other ancient, yet new, provinces of decoration which the Indian has made peculiarly his own.

Is not Europe to-day everywhere turning to the East for that message of *individuality* in the Applied Arts which for the moment she herself appears to have lost? This great field of speculation is, however, too vast for me to trespass upon within the time at my disposal. In demanding the opportunity which New Delhi can best give we are simply endeavouring to secure one—the greatest immediate outlet for the pent but vast powers and energies of India's artist craftsmen. These are propositions to which I earnestly hope this Conference will give its fullest support.

The Resolution immediately before this Conference is one from which I feel sure no one present here is likely to dissent. It is natural that on an occasion of this kind the discussion should be largely on general lines, but I venture to ask you to consider not only the Resolution itself, but the best means of giving to that Resolution the fullest and most practical effect. The India Society has given a rare opportunity to Art Lovers to-day to do something more tangible for Indian Art and the brilliant, but hard-pressed Artists of India, than merely to give full expression to sentiments of sympathy and encouragement.

What is the most immediate and most pressing need for Indian Art to-day?

Is it not the establishment of a point of focus for the Artist-producing efforts of the Indian Schools of Art?

I think here we might well borrow one more idea from our great Art-loving Ally, the French Nation, and might discover in a scheme somewhat analogous to their Prix de Rome, the point of focus which is not merely a desideratum but an immediate imperative necessity if the work of the Indian Schools of Art, and of the Bombay School of Art in particular, is to lead to full fruition.

My proposal is that the Government of India should establish a Prize of Delhi, and that students qualifying in sculpture and painting (and perhaps in Architecture, Arts and Crafts), as winners of this prize should be admitted to a Central Institution—a veritable "Villa Medici"—there to reap the fullest advantages of a period of 3 or 4 years painting and modelling. The merits of this scheme, both from the point of view of the Artists and of the country that would benefit by their services, are clear. The organisation of it should not be difficult. The financial side of this proposal, if efficiently handled, should not be heavy and the results would certainly be a great opportunity for Indian Art students—an immense incentive to work for the Schools of Art, and a logical development of Indian Art along lines of proved efficiency.

This would be a safe and a certain improvement upon the present more or less opportunist methods

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of Indian Art education. It would secure for Indian Artists the unspeakably important asset of Government patronage at a Central Institution. It would go further towards the helping of Indian Art to-day than the formation of an Indian Academy of Fine Arts, or a Ministry of Fine Arts, because this scheme would crown and concentrate the co-directed efforts of inter-provincial Schools of Art, and give stability of aim and prospects to the Art Students of India.

X.—CONFERENCE ON INDIAN ART.

COMMENTS By AGASTYA.

I HAVE been invited by the Editor to offer some comments on the Address delivered by Sir George Lloyd, the late Governor of Bombay at the Conference on Indian Art at Wembley. Art of any kind, not to say Indian Art, so seldom gets into gubernatorial or ex-gubernatorial speeches, that it is somewhat ungracious to scrutinize such speeches in a critical spirit. Besides Sir George Lloyd began by disarming all criticism with the remark that he did not lay claim to the status of an expert authority on Indian Art. We are so much in agreement with the main burden of his Address that we are shelving for the moment the controversial points. Sir George Lloyd wished to emphasize that he was a great believer in the Indian Artist and in the value of his mission to the world and he is anxious to see a really fruitful improvement in the conditions of modern Indian Art and to take steps to secure the successful progress of Indian Art to-day. A more laudable desire has never captured the leisure moments of retired Governors. In this, however, he is only following the footsteps of Lord Ronaldshay whose active interest in and encouragement of Indian Art should find many followers in and outside India. It is a notorious fact that in matters touching Indian Art the Government of India have no settled policy or interest and it has never thought that any duty was imposed on the Viceroy or the provincial Governors to do anything more tangible for Indian Art than mere expressions of sentiments of sympathy. Those who are in charge of the political destiny of India very rarely think that in the rich assets of Indian civilization, the imaginative, spiritual and creative genius of India form a very important item, or that a great burden is cast on the English officials in India to watch, guard, and develop with all the resources at their back, the valuable traditions which have been bequeathed in the surviving arts and crafts of India. It is also forgotten that "Indian Art does not live in the past—but there is a vigorous living Art in the present surviving in the rich inheritance of many Indian artists in the old tradition as also in its modern potentiality." The Indians of to-day, much denationalised as they are, are still capable, if given suitable opportunities, without official "interference" and "guidance," to produce works of Art equal in glory to the masterpieces of old. The official conscience in the matter has quietly lain asleep and Sir George Lloyd in emulating his brother, the Ex-Governor of Bengal, has done a signal service to Indian Art by attempting to wake up the Rip Van Winkle of official conscience. It is well known that he made strenuous efforts to entrust to the students of the School of Art, Bombay, commissions to decorate the palatial edifices of New Delhi. The huge expenditure and, as some say, "the colossal waste of money," in New Delhi would have some justification, if Indian Artists had been given some opportunity to take part in the building up of New Delhi and in decorating its palaces. As Sir George Lloyd said: "In demanding the opportunity which New Delhi can best give, we are simply endeavouring to secure one of the greatest immediate outlets for the pent but vast powers and energies of India's artist craftsmen." But in insisting on the claims of Indian Artists, Sir George Lloyd had somewhat miscalculated the chances and the confirmed habits of high officials. He apparently forgot that Mr. Havell had shouted himself hoarse, vainly alas, in demanding the ear of the Indian Government with regard to this claim. But no amount of "silver-trumpet" (to quote Professor Rothenstein), however it may "stir" people in England is likely to "move" English officials. Even the Indian officials when they hold responsible portfolios, say in the Education Department, ignore with characteristic indifference the claims of Indian Art and their duty to protect and develop them. We should indeed like to see copies of Sir George Lloyd's Address in the hands of every official in India. There is a school of critics who are never tired of holding to redicule the economic conditions and the financial policy of the Moghuls during their magnificent but "barbarous" rule. But we have not found any single word of appreciation, from this class of critics, of the magnificent patronage with which the "barbarous" Moghuls kept alive, and fanned into abiding flames—the great artistic traditions of India. Mr. Havell has in very brave and emphatic terms exposed the *laissez faire* policy of the Government in the matter of art-education and art patronage. The remedy, or as Sir George Lloyd has put, the "objective" that he

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suggests as the most immediate and pressing need of Indian Art to-day, is the solitary provision of a "Government of India Prize of Delhi" somehow connected with a "central institution" of which he does not give us the ghost of a suggestion. But the remedy he has suggested for the wide spread æsthetic ills of India, is very characteristic of official naiveté. How this single "Prix de Rome" of India,—this questionable bon-bon of official patronage,—the proverbial drop in the ocean, would keep alive and furnish an incentive to work for the schools of Art and a logical development of Indian Art, is certainly beyond comprehension. With great respects to the Ex-Governor of Bombay, it may be remarked that the appalling condition of modern Indian Arts and crafts demand a more serious and comprehensive organization backed by liberal state grants, than could be provided by the tinctured remedies of a few prizes or certificates. The interest of Indian Art demands a re-casting and re-organization of the official schools of Art in Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras and Lucknow. They were never schemed with anything like organic relation to the necessities of India and they have helped to "kill" more Indian artists than centuries of official indifference. After all the resources of a school of Art by itself can be very limited and can hardly furnish the atmosphere and the background for art-culture which are provided in other countries, in the shape of frequent Exhibitions, Art Salons, Museums, and Galleries and Educational lectures. In this connection we have stumbled upon a remark of Professor Rothenstein, which has the characteristic flavour of official attitude in India. "Do not make the mistake we have made here," said the official head of South Kensington, and "spend all your money on museums and acquisitive things—but on much greater thing than acquisition—creation!" We suppose that the first demand that Professor William Rothenstein wishes to make on the Ministry of Fine Art, is to auction the "acquisitive things" in the National Galleries, the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums for the benefit of American millionaires. We should like to draw his attention to the damaging remark made by Sir Charles Holmes, Director of the National Gallery, in his book ("Old Masters and Modern Art"), "that it is only through the study of the old masters that the young artists of to-day may really learn the essentials of their trade." Spending monies on acquiring of works of Art or building up a gallery of old Indian masterpieces are very inconvenient proposals for officials in India. A solitary "Prix de Rome" is a much more cheap and easy substitute than any comprehensive schemes of state aid or patronage. While officials may be anxious to do their duty to Indian Art by the speedy provision of a solitary prize, they would find it hard to swallow the advice of Professor Rothenstein "that encouragement of native genius is the first duty which civilization owes to its sons." Such advices have been given by Mr. Havell repeatedly and have been found to be unpalatable to official palates. Dewan Bahadur Vijayraghavacharya must have had an inside view of the pitiable economic condition of the arts and crafts of India in the course of his strenuous labours to collect exhibits for Wembley, for there is a note of secret pity and despair behind his moderate appeal: "We are looking forward to the time," he said, "when the necessity for Government patronage may disappear. Meanwhile, the artist must live and until the public awaken to their obligations the Government must take the place of an enlightened public." The Dewan Bahadur might well have ceased to speculate *when* the necessity for Government patronage may disappear, for what we are now concerned with in the "living present," is *when* will the Government patronage *begin to appear.* For the descendants and the representatives of the old historic arts and crafts of India are on the last stage of starvation and no amount of conferences and empty compliments can furnish the substitute for the urgent dole of bread in the form of a liberal state subsidy, which alone can save Indian Art from degradation, decay and death. For, notwithstanding the boast of Captain Solomon of the so-called public patronage of Bombay, there is no patronage of Art worth the name in any city of India, and we are ashamed to subscribe to the remarks of Professor Rothenstein: "We must be absolutely truthful and say that the Indian citizens have not been given the understanding and support to their own culture which is its due." In the absence of a cultured public the Government must assume the rôle of appreciation and patronage. The fashion that the Moghul Emperors set, in liberally patronising the arts was followed in all quarters throughout the length and breadth of India. The "barbarous" Moghuls can well give a lesson to their enlightened successors. We doubt very much if the "silver trumpet" will reach the official ears of Simla. "The new heaven and the new earth" that Captain Solomon has pictured "for the hard-pressed artists of India," will ever remain unfulfilled dreams. At any rate the innocuous resolution in which the conference ended, viz., "the conference desires to urge the importance of promoting throughout the Empire the study and appreciation of the æsthetic culture of India in the provinces of painting, sculpture and music," very carefully avoided any reference to immediate patronage in connection with the New Delhi and is a far cry from "the continuous pressure on the Government of India to realise the necessity for encouraging Indian Art," which the speakers at the Conference loudly advocated. The India Society, we have no doubt, will send a solemn deputation on Lord Olivier who will gracefully and courteously reply to Sir Hercules Read without committing the India Office to any kind of expenses or any comprehensive policy and a copy of his reply suitably embodied in a Secretarial Despatch will duly travel

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across the seas to earn its repose of dust and oblivion on the archives of the Record Departments of the Government of India and thus bring to a logical termination, the comedy and the tragedy of Indian Art under the ægis of the British Government.

XI.—PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN PAINTING: A REVIEW.*

By A. M.

THE learned notes of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., on The Six Limbs of Painting, have now been printed in the form of a booklet by the Indian Society of Oriental Art with a Foreword by Mr. O. C. Gangoly. The basis of this interesting study is a Sanskrit couplet of unknown date, quoted by Yasodhara of undetermined age, in his commentary on the Kámasutram of Vátsyána, believed to be identical with Kautilya, the author of the Arthasástram, better known by the name of Chànakya, the Minister of Chandragupta, the celebrated founder of the Maurya Empire, about the time of Alexander's invasion of India. As the six canons of Chinese Painting, recorded in the fifth century of the Christian era, bear a striking resemblance with the six *angas* (limbs) enumerated in the Sanskrit couplet, it has naturally come to be regarded as an important literary source of information about the principles of Oriental Painting. A new era of investigation has introduced some change in the point of view of the West, with which fresh efforts are being made to understand the East in the sphere of art. The booklet of Dr. Tagore has, therefore, a legitimate claim to a suitable welcome. The Sanskrit couplet in question is in the form of a Kârikâ, intended to be transmitted orally, like many sayings of wisdom similarly transmitted, from generation to generation, from before the time when mere memory was first sought to be assisted with written records in India. It was evidently well-known when Yasodhara quoted it in his commentary. Its underlying principles could not have been entirely unknown in the days before the birth of Christ, as may be inferred from the fact that they were actually suggested by Pánini in his sutram—IV Pratikritau (v. 3.96)—in which the word "Iva" was used to signify Sádrisyam, one of the *angas* enumerated in the Kârikâ. The couplet is an enumeration, ending with three words (1) iti (2) chitram (3) sadangakam, which mean (iti) thus (chitram) painting is (sadangakam) possessed of six *angas*, apparently analogous to the six *angas* of the Vedas, as branches of auxiliary knowledge. They are enumerated as follows:—

"Rûpa-bhedâh pramânâni bhâva-lâvanya-yojanam.
Sâdrishyam varnikâ-bhanga iti chitram sadangakam."

The Vedas, inspite of the six *angas*, cannot be called *sadangaka* like painting, which has accordingly to be understood to represent an achievement dependent upon the contribution of six *angas*. The name,—*The Six Limbs of Painting* is,—therefore, liable to be regarded as misleading. The *angas* are characteristic and not merely descriptive. They contribute to the production of sádrisyam, which is the soul of Painting. *The Six Essential Requisites of Painting* would have given the nearest approach to the meaning of the original.

RUPA-BHEDAH. The first is indicated by a compound noun in the plural number, composed of *Rupam* and Bhedâh, in which Bhedâh indicate differentiations of one from another. Its combination with the word *Rupam* and the plural number given to the compound word indicate differentiations according to different variations of *Rupam* under a method which constitutes the essence of this branch of auxiliary knowledge. It is, therefore, necessary to know in which sense was *Rupam* used in this connection. The view of the Nyáya school of Indian philosophy is a limited one, limited to what may be actually seen with the eyes, as is clearly laid down in the Bhàshàpariccheda thus:—"Chakshur-gráhyam bhavedrúpam dravyāderupalambhakam."

According to this view, *Rupam* indicates the visible form of matter. The sixteen forms of *Rupam*, enumerated in the Mahábháratam (Sántiparvan, Mokshadharma, Chapter 184) referred to by Dr. Tagore, relate to this limited view. There is yet another view quoted by Rupa Gosvami in his *Ujjvala-nilamani*, according to which *Rupam* is invisible something,—the inherent beauty of forms,—which underlies all visible forms. Thus,

"Angānyabhúsitânyeva kenachidbhusanádinâ
Yena bhusitavadvānti tradrûpamiti kathyate."

That something is called *Rupam* by virtue of which the limbs (angâni) undecorated by an ornaments (a-bhúsitányeva kenachidbhúsanádinà) appear (bhánti) as if they are actually bedecked with ornaments (bhúsitavat). This view, that *Rupam* indicates the inherent natural beauty of

* SADANGA or The Six Limbs of Painting—by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1922 Price, Rupee One.

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visible forms of matter, appears to be more appropriately applicable to the Kârikâ. The latent beauty was rendered patent by skilful manipulation of lines (*Rekha*), which effected Bhedâh or division, otherwise called *Vi-bhaktata*. Its want, revealing a mere mass, was accordingly called *a-vibhaktata*, and was stigmatised as one of the blemishes of art, in the *Vishnudharmottaram*, Part III.

Dr. Tagore has endeavoured to interpret *Rupa-bhedah* in a way which is peculiarly his own. "Rûpa is form" says he, "visual as well as mental, and Bhedâh means "difference," such as the difference between forms instinct with life, and beauty and the forms which have no beauty, no life." *Bhedah* has been used here in its technical sense of *Vi-bhaktata*, variegation or differentiation, and not difference. No form, living or dead, is devoid of *Rupam*, which lies latent, and may be rendered patent by the process of *Bhedah* or *Vi-bhaktata* translated into English, "delineation and articulation," is the nearest approach to the meaning of the original. The endeavour of Dr. Tagore to substantiate this interpretation by further observations—(i) that *Rupa-bhedah* means "the analysis and synthesis of forms given to us by our five senses and our soul or mind," (ii) that "our mind grows in true knowledge of forms (*Rupa-bhedah*) through many experiences," and (iii) that "to light all forms with 'Ruchi' of our mind, and to receive enlightenment from the 'Ruchi' emanating from the visible and the invisible is to gain the true knowledge of Rûpa,"—are not likely to meet with general acceptance.

PRAMANANI. The importation of the Vedantic doctrine of *Pramatri-Chaitanya* to interpret the second *anga* relating to *Pramanani* is no less unsatisfactory. The text evidently uses the word in the sense in which it indicates in the art-literature of ancient India, the rules relating to proportions and perspective. These rules give to the lines of *Rupa-bhedah* a "clear-cut definition, regular and decided," by which the East tried to express form through a convention,—the convention of pure line,—regulated by the rules of proportion which included those of the perspective. *Pramanani* indicate proportionate measurements fixed and laid down by the canons of art, and not left to the individual choice of artists, according to the degree of development of his individual *Pramatri-Chaitanya*. *Pramanani* in the plural number indicate various classes of proportions, and as such, are not limited to the proportions relating to length, breadth, and thickness of limbs; but are also extended to the disappearance (kshaya) and appearance (vriddhi) in the methods of foreshortening, as laid down in detail in the *Vishnudharmottaram*.

BHAVA-YOJANAM. The third and the fourth *angas* have been mentioned together in a compound with the word *Yojanam* (*lit.* addition or joining) which, according to the context, implies infusion. They, therefore, relate to *Bhava-Yojanam*, and *Lavanya-Yojanam*. Both are to be taken in their technical sense. Bhâvah are connected with *Vi-bhavah* which again are connected with the *Rasas* used in a plural sense, as they are of many kinds. They are defined thus:—

"Sharîrendriya-vargasya vikâranam vidhâyakâh
Bhâva Bhivâba-janitâschittavrittaya îritah."

The *Bhava* are mental feelings (chitta-vrittaya) the outcome of, or caused by Vi-bhávah (Vi-bhâva-janitah), the producer of transformations (vikáranam vidháyakáh) of all the organs of senses appertaining to the body (Sharîrendriya-vargasya). Transformations of the bodily organs of senses,—the eyes, the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the skin,—are not imaginary, they are regulated by different moods generated by different *Rasas*,—nine in number. *Bhava-Yojanam* means accordingly adequate representation of these transformations so as to disclose the mental feelings. Dr. Tagore explains this as follows:—"Bhâva is idea, sentiment, emotion, intention, nature of a thing; Byanga means suggestion. In art, *we* express Bháva by the different attitudes assumed by forms under the action of feelings." Unfortunately, no authority has been quoted in support of this interpretation. A long dissertation is attached to this interpretation. "Changes of attitudes, etc., which forms undergo," says he, "are only the exposed of visible side of Bhâva-feelings; unless we apply our mind to get at and reveal the suggestions which underlie the expressed or exposed side of Bhâva, we shall never get a perfect picture." It is undoubtedly a good quality of painting. The recognised and prescribed good qualities, according to the *Vishnudharmottaram* are,—"proper position, proportion, and spacing, gracefulness and articulation, resemblance, decrease and increase, i.e., foreshortening);—these are known as the eight good qualities of painting." Bhâva is here suggested by or included in "proper position," by which it is disclosed.

LAVANYA-YOJANAM. Dr. Tagore calls the fourth *anga*—the infusion of grace and artistic quality, and observes as follows:—"As the prâmânâni imposes on forms the restrictions of measure and proportion, so *Lavanya* is for controlling excessive movement, contortions, etc., of forms affected by emotions, feeling, etc., and also for regulating the actions of Bhâva for artistic purposes." It is not easy to discover what he actually drives at by assuming further on that "Pramânâni—proportion, etc.,—rule the form as a despot would rule his subject, imposing submission by force, whereas *Lavanya*—grace and artistic quality,—like a loving mother, rules with tenderness." Devoid of metaphor, *Lavanya* has been interpreted as an antidote. It is a technical term, defined as follows:—

"Muktâ-phalesu-châyâyâ-
staralatwāmivântarâ
Pratibhâti yadangesu,
lâvanyam tadihochyate."

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Here *Lavanya* is called that which is revealed by the members of the body like the liquid lustre emanating from the beads of pearls. It is the glow of gracefulness,—a varnish as it were,—which makes the forms resplendant. Dr. Tagore has not enquired, nor has he disclosed how this used to be effected in practice. It is something which is to appear—to become visible,—and not left to be imagined, nor intended to remain in a state of mere suggestiveness, to be exaggerated by some, and missed altogether by others!

SADRISHYAM. The fifth *anga, Sadrishyam* is, according to Dr. Tagore, "Similitude, resemblance, equality of forms and ideas." In the dissertation which follows, he sums up his observations by saying that "proper similitude is that of feelings and not of forms." Here again the Vedantic teaching of the *Panchadasi* has been invoked to remind the reader that according to it,—"mind flowing into the forms of things becomes the thing itself, as melted copper, flowing into the mould, assumes the shape and form of the engraved stamp." As *Sadrishyam* is the main feature or *anga,* in which lies the true philosophy of Indian art, the word deserved to be more definitely interpreted. It is derived from the word *drishyam* with which it is inseparably associated.

The literature of Art, in Sanskrit, reveals the Indian view by classifying all objects into two classes, *drishtam* (seen) and *a-drishtam* (unseen) The first relates to objects real, the second to real but rare, as well as unreal and imaginary. These objects have their existence either in nature or in pure imagination as the case may be. They are thus, i.e., they are as they are; or as they are imagined to be. They are, however, never capable of being seen by the eyes of the body or the mind as they *are,* but only as they *appear. Drishyam* indicates what the object thus appears to be; or in other words, as is seen by the eyes or by the mind, as distinguished from what they *are* in reality or in imagination. Art is concerned with the production of a likeness of this *drishyam* or the appearance and not of the object itself. This is called *Sadrishyam.* A photograph is, according to this view, a copy,—the thing itself—capable of offering a *drishyam* or appearance; whereas portrait based upon it, bears only the impress of the appearance, which is capable of being realised from the photograph. Indian art is accordingly not a copy, but a creation,—a creation of the impression produced by the object, real or imaginary. Realism and Idealism of the East are not, therefore, of the same import as they are in the West. Realism in India was not absolute but comparative, as if it was really a realism of idealism, because everything was looked upon as essentially unreal, though bearing the semblance of reality. *Sadrishyam,* defined in the *Siddhanta-muktavali,* may be referred to in this connection, viz.:—"Tad-bhinnatwe sati tadgata-bhuyo-dharmma-vattwam."

The two are different, but the impression caused by both is the same. A copy makes the two the same, but a *sadrishyam* maintains the difference, and remains satisfied only with producing the sameness of the impression.

VARNIKA-BHANGA. The sixth *anga,* Varnikâbhanga is a compound of two words *Varnika* and *Bhanga,* both of which bear more than one meaning in Sanskrit, and have to be interpreted according to the context. *Varnika* means colour or pigment as well as the brush with which it is applied; —*Bhanga* means breaking as well as application in a technical sense like the world *Bhakti* (variegation) indicating *Vibhaga* or *Bheda.* The compound word indicates the application or appropriate disposition of colour. Dr. Tagore suggests—"colouring, delineation with brush and pigment, brush-strokes, etc. The knowledge of pigments and colour-mixtures as well as the art of penmanship and brush-strokes is the last and most difficult attainment of all." He interprets it in the wider sense so that the use of the word *Bhanga* becomes practically redundant in the text. For "our eyes" says he, "merely see colours; but the mind the music, the perfume of colours." This is further made clear by the observations that "Varnikâbhanga is not merely employed to give the proper colour of the sun-light on a flower, but such colours as also will convey to us the perfume of the flowers and the degree of heat and light given by the sun either at dawn or at sunset, or midday." Such colours! But what colours, even known to Man? It is the *Bhanga* or disposition of *Varnika* or colours which alone can be expected to produce the wished-for impression;—not Varnikā, but *Varnika-bhanga.*

In the foreword Mr. Gangoly laments "the dearth of materials for an adequate summary of the æsthetic theories of the ancient Indians," and, therefore, cautiously observes that "a somewhat extraordinary, if not an exaggerated, interest attaches to the essays contributed by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore." He takes this couplet as revealing "the theory of Painting," and assigns its formulation to a period about the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, shortly before the Chinese canons were crystalised. His conclusion that the Chinese and the Indian concepts indicate a parallelism of ideas is a reasonable one. But in his endeavour to demonstrate such parallelism, he wishes to interpret *Pramanani* to mean authority, precedent, or tradition," because "the value of the traditions of old Masters" says he, "is one of the most essential doctrine of Indian art both in sculpture and painting." He accordingly concludes with an observation that "this interpretation has the merit of answering the discrepancy between the Indian and the Chinese canon, which Dr. Tagore misses in the Indian versions." The context, however, hardly fits in with this view. Actual copying of classic models was not a practice in ancient Indian art, inasmuch as the observance of the "pramânâni" proportions sufficiently guarded

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against all wanton aberrations, and secured a safe transmission of approved models. The plural number assigned to the word, and the technical sense in which every other word in the couplet was used, do not support the interpretation of Mr. Gangoly. The Chinese canons if based on the Indian may have possibly endeavoured to assimilate the Indian conceptions in the following way:—

(1) Spiritual tone and life-movement (Bhâvah-Yojanam).

(2) Manner of brush-work in drawing lines (Rûpa-bhedâ).

(3) Form in its relation to objects (Sâdrishyam).

(4) Choice of colours appropriate to the objects (Varnikâ-bhanga).

(5) Composition and grouping (Lâvanya-yojanam).

(6) The copying of classic models (pramânâni, i.e., canonised rules of proportions which constituted the soul of such models).

While Mr. Gangoly recognises a complete parallelism between the art-ideals of India and China and sees to harmonise the seeming disagreement by a proposal to interpret pramânâni to indicate "authority, precedent, or tradition," Dr. Tagore accepts the disagreement as real, and seeks to account for it by a theory that "at the time when Hsieh-Ho was laying down the six canons of Chinese painting much of the art-philosophy as contained in the original six limbs of Indian Painting was lost to China or only imperfectly remembered by art-writers of the age." Both the suppositions are based upon a mere translation of the Chinese essay, which may really account for the seeming disagreement.

A critical analysis of the materials supplied by the *Vishnudharmottaram*, Part III, will show that Indian painting never aimed at copying, but ever at creating, and its creations were regulated by rules, which were really formulated from traditions. Like the grammar of literature, this grammar of art had its origin in those compositions, which had grown up without it, as models which already existed, but had only to be interpreted by rules deduced from them alone. The six "component parts" according to the Chinese art-critic and the "Sadanga" according to Dr. Tagore are based equally on the significant number SIX. But the two are said to be practically contemporaneous. As China had a pictorial art of her own from before the age of her contact with India, the same number of similar component parts of painting might as well have been the result of mere chance. Some writers have on that account actually expressed a hesitation to accept the conclusions of Dr. Tagore on this point. The question is one of History, and the materials are as yet really meagre to justify any definite conclusion.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art deserve the praise and gratitude of all students for the publication of Dr. Tagore's very interesting essay in the handy form of a booklet to afford easy reference and undoubted facilities for a discussion of the subject matter, which throws useful light upon the philosophy of Indian Painting. Mr. Gangoly hesitates to accept, but nevertheless records with commendable open-mindedness that "it is now believed that a study of the *Alamkara-sastras* though hitherto interpreted, with reference to, and in application to literary, and, principally, poetic productions, contain fundamental statements of æsthetic doctrines which can be interpreted and made to answer for the forms of Indian plastic art." His hesitation is naturally based upon the "desultery attempts" made so far only by a few students named by him, "to wrench from various other Sanskrit texts passages likely to throw light on the special theories of Indian æsthetics." A *reference* to the *Vishnudharmottaram* will, however, show that treatises on artistic, like those on literary, compositions adopted the same theories of æsthetics, based upon the same considerations of the same Rasas, as laid down by the following:—

Shringâra-hâsya-karunâ-vîra-raudra-bhayanakah Vîbhatsâdbhuta-shântâsha nava chitra-rasâh smritah.

"The sentiments (rasâh) represented in painting are said to be nine, viz., Shringâra (erotic), Hâsya (laugh-exciting), Karunâ (pathetic), Vîra (heroic), Raudra (furious), Bhayanakh (fearful), Vîbhatsâ (loathsome), Adbhûta (strange and supernatural), and Shântâ (peaceful)."

REVIEWS.

"JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS" BY LAURENCE BINYON AND J. J. O'BRIEN SEXTON, PP. LVI + 236, 4TO, WITH 16 COLOURED AND NUMEROUS BLACK-AND-WHITE PLATES. LONDON: ERNEST BENN, LTD. PRICE, £4-10-6.

JAPANESE art has become an element in our culture. Although the art of the colour-print is of secondary importance, it has, by its special charm, won the hearts of a host of art lovers both in Europe and in America. This fascinating art which we shall presently pursue in Mr. Binyon's scholarly volume, deliberately forgoes all means of producing an immediate illusion. It knows nothing of the third dimension but confines itself to the decorative effects in one plane only. It entirely eliminates chiaroscuro reflected lights and highlights. Perspective and anatomical accuracy are given the go-by, not because of the artists' ignorance, but because these are considered as obstacles to the conception of things decoratively. The display of emotion on their features is noticeably absent. Through gestures and movements

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of their hands and feet and by the expression of their eyes are the emotions conveyed. It moves free from the demands with which we approach the art of the West. It charms us by the virtue of its strangeness, harmony, rhythm, and vision which is peculiarly its own. It is for this reason that the modern European world is so much charmed with the art of Persia, China, Japan and India. Here the beautiful stands by itself liberated from any consideration of utility. It is only when we approach a work of art with our measure-tape of academical formulas and our preconceived notions of æsthetics, that we fail to understand and appreciate a foreign art. Throughout the course of Asian painting the idea that art is the imitation of nature is entirely absent. It only seeks out the subtle and the invisible relations in things, the perceptions of harmonies and rhythms not seen by a prosaic mind. It is an art of symbolisation, of the ellusive, of the infinite. Mr. Laurence Binyon needs no introduction to the students of Chinese and Japanese painting. He is one of the greatest living authorities on the subject. He treats the subject in a masterly manner. Unlike other authors his treatment is chronological which gives us a correct view of its evolution and its development. The author provides us with a series of tables of dates, of censor seals, dating from 1790 to 1874, of actors' Mon, and a full table of publishers' seals. An exhaustive bibliography and a list of books with coloured prints by the artists published in Japan is also given, which form a very unique and important feature of this scholarly volume. He, however, does not mention Basil Stewart's two fine books which were published in 1920 and 1922 respectively. In his introduction he refers to the prints discovered by Sir M. A Stein in Tunhuang as the oldest specimens of the art. We find in these woodcuts a tentative experiment in colour-printing. Woodcut printing in China was practised in the sixteenth century. Mr. Strange has advanced an interesting suggestion that the early German and Italian woodcuts may have been introduced into China, but the discovery of the old Buddhist prints by Sir M. A. Stein proves that China did not borrow the idea either from Germany or Italy. These early Chinese woodcuts have, however, no direct bearing on our subject. The old Chinese woodcuts were produced like the old English mezzotints and engravings. These were mere reproductions of paintings; whereas the Japanese colour-prints were independent works of art by first-rate men who created a world of beauty which was peculiarly their own. The author begins the first chapter with the production of a book with woodcuts by Moronobu which was published in Yedo in 1658. The splendid achievements of Moronobu, Masanobu, Toyonobu, Kiyomasu are treated in chapter 3. Chapter 4 is devoted to the Meiwa period 1764 to 1772, in which, besides the older men who continued their work, masters like Buncho, Shunsho, Shigemasa, Koryusai and Kiyonaga are mentioned. Harunobu the most subtle and magical colourist of the Ukioye school, is a giant amongst them all. He introduces a new delicate blue, a violet, and a chocolate red to his colour-scheme. The author compares Gainsborough's picture of his two daughters chasing the butterfly in the National Gallery, to Harunobu's work as too prone to prettiness dependent on the reminiscence of a smiling face, a blooming complexion, a happy attitude, which degenerated to a vignette. Harunobu's work had a strong basis of design, he knew how to relate the forms to one another with felicity and variety. His sweetness is never sugary. He is famous for his figure subjects, night scenes, and snow scenes. Kiyonaga's genius flowered in the Temmi period. Koryusai gives up print designing and takes to book-illustration and painting. Masanobu and Kiyonaga are the two dominant figures of the Temmi period. Kiyonaga surpasses Masanobu in the creation of beautiful feminine type. His type is sweeter and more expressive, with rounded cheek and a small chin. Kiyonaga designs pillar-prints and seems to rejoice in a new-found power of line, which exalts his work amongst these splendid draughtsmen. His feminine types are supremely tall and stately in early years but gradually decline to normal proportions. The author says of him "He is content with the solid pose of his majestic forms, as if to bend or sway them towards or away from each other would mar their dignity. But out of these simple harmonies what a magnificent whole he creates, consummate in its equilibrium and authority! His superb feminine forms, calmly sweet in a stable world and breathing the unconscious air of perfect health, are drawn with no parade of power, but impress as by the sensation of actual presence, so wonderfully does the contour evoke the shape of the rounded limbs that it encloses. This discovery of a type at once so winning and stately, a type founded on reality but imaginatively enhanced so as to be in truth an ideal creation, is one of Kiyonaga's great achievements." Only one artist remained in his old paths: the veteran Shunsho. He followed the fashion of the tall figures, but he designed his actor prints in the old hoso-ye shape. Suncho and Shunman are worthy of note who worked during this period. Kwansei period 1789-1801—At the beginning of this period Kiyonaga gave up print designing, Shunsho died in 1793. Masanobu turned his attention to book-illustration. Had it not been for the two great geniuses Utamaro and Sharaku, coupled with men like Yeishi, Choki and Toyokuni, the Kwansei period would have anticipated the decadence that overtook the Ukioye in the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the combination of the talented men enumerated above, especially Utamaro, Choki and Sharaku, produced work no whit inferior to, and even as important as that of the Temmi period. Utamaro is the crowning glory of the Kwanesi period. To quote in the words of the author "With his imagination for

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the elemental fact, he sees woman resorting to that truth-telling oracle, and knows that never priestess interrogated the mysteries of her shrine with more passionate absorption. The beautiful body, the young lineaments, the treasure committed by abounding Nature to her charge; in the little lucid world of the mirror how precious these seem, how anxiously to be scrutinized, how jealously watched and cherished! It is this seizure of the aboriginal, the essential, the instinctive, in feminine humanity that distinguishes Utamaro among all the artists of the world." In 1794 Sharaku startles the world with his full-blown genius. There is no gradual development in his style, he is a master from the very start. Even Toyokuni pales before this extra luminous start of the Ukioye constellation. If Sharaku's work could be labelled hedious or grotesque, the same fate would befall the splendid dwarfs of Velasquez. Did they not both immensely enjoy their work? Are they not perfect realists? Before the advent of Sharaku, Japanese portraiture was more or less of a generalized type, he alone made it a definite portraiture. With what power he draws his grimacing actors? Seidlitz in his book—which by the way has become a standard work on the subject—gives a fine colour reproduction of one of his fine prints. The one in the present volume is perhaps not so good. Sharaku portrays the whole range of human emotions intensified to a degree but without losing their essential truth. At this period the figures of women not only grew immensely taller but extravagantly slender. Harunobu, Utamaro, Kiyonaga each in their turn had attenuated necks and wrists into an extravagant delicate slimness as of flower-stocks. Pontormo, El Greco, and Blake lengthened out their figures in a similar manner obeying an impulse from within. Did not Beardsley create a world of his own? The strangeness of such forms in actual life does not in the least affect their importance or value in the world of creative art. We have yet much to learn from Indian art with regard to this. In 1806 Utamaro dies, and with him dies that lovely world which we saw mirrored in the beautiful prints of the Ukioye masters. The advent of Hokusai in the nineteenth century saves the art from utter degradation but throws the work of the lesser men into greater relief than before. He is the only imposing personality excepting Hiroshige. Hokusai has left us a number of masterpieces in his landscape birds and flower studies and figure work in these prints. The range of his work is immense for detailed enumeration here. All the series by him are given with chronological and other details which will be of great interest to the reader. If Hokusai is the Turner, Hiroshige is the Corot of the Ukioye school. Hokusai treats his subject from a different point of view to Hiroshige; he depicts the relationship of man to nature with a vividness not found in Hiroshige's work. Hiroshige delights in mist, sun, rain, and other atmospheric effects for their own sake and does not interpret them in relation to man as Hokusai does. Fenollosa classes Hokusai in the first rank and places Hiroshige in the third. This is a matter of opinion. That chopinesque atmosphere of mystery and elusiveness which we find in Hiroshige's works entitles him to a loftier position than what he is usually given. The problem of Hiroshige the second has been solved by the author. He believes that the works attributed to Hiroshige the second, because of the change in the signature, the altered shape of the picture, and the slight deterioration in quality are Hiroshige's own. Hence Hiroshige the third becomes Hiroshige the second. Other interesting problems are discussed at the end of the book. These will be of immense help to the collector and the student. This scholarly volume with its wealth of illustrations will be of greater use to the collector than to the amateur student. The authors and the publishers have put us under a deep sense of obligation for giving us a volume of such absorbing interest which is destined to have a very high place amongst the most important books on the subject.

B. N. T.

MODERN INDIAN ARTISTS, VOL. 2. ASIT KUMAR HALDAR. BY DR. J. H. COUSINS, WITH ANNOTATIONS ON THE PLATES BY MR. O. C. GANGOLY. 5 COLOUR PLATES AND 20 PHOTOGRAVURES, 1924. LIMITED EDITION OF 200 COPIES. PRICE, RS. 16. MANAGER, "RUPAM," 7, OLD POST OFFICE STREET, CALCUTTA.

WE acclaimed the announcement of the 2nd Volume of *Modern Indian Artists* under the sympathetic editorship of Mr. Gangoly with delight. We promised ourselves a superb binding, an incomparable type, a brilliant introduction, a sympathetic letterpress—all the delights to all the senses, in short. The 2nd volume has in a splendid manner borne out the rich promise and amply fulfilled our expectations. To Dr. Cousins was entrusted the task of the introduction. He entered the field, richly endowed by nature and instinct. He is one of those who have approached Indian life—to interpret and sanctify. The mantle of Sister Nivedita (of happy memory) has fallen on him and he maintains the loftiest traditions. The Indian attitude towards life and towards death had proved an insuperable obstacle to Europe, and consequently the art it inspired had been a sealed book. Criticism alternated between a revulsion from something strange and barbaric—we felt degraded, and a concession of a distant resemblance to the decadent periods of Western Art,—we felt insulted. To these, the remedy has at last been found. Dr. Cousins does not approach the arts from the narrow standpoint of professional criticism. He would frankly have you read the paintings in the light of literary and historic association.

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He would take you to an *object* and quote poetry there. He would not insist on the formal significance of line and colour. "I thrill to this work," he says, "with every fibre of my being. It wafts me to cærulean skies, and limpid streams and velvet hills and dales. I dream of vanished moods, and lives buried in the past. Approach with your emotions—stifle your sterile intellect for a while." It is so frank, so engaging, so refreshing. He tells us that the sublime glories of Ajanta have not held Asit in thrall, nor yet the crystalline painting of Rajput lyricism, temptations that beset the path of all artistic effort. To him the past is a mood—at best regulating and modifying. Nor has he fallen a victim to the Ogre of Symbolism, which has cruelly devoured so many of our freshest and our best. The Dancing Apsarâ—which we are informed was done before Ajanta was visited—is certainly an echo from those dim religious halls. But Asit wisely abandoned that impossible task where one mountain path ascended would reveal height after height in the untold beyond of æsthetic life. He has preferred to listen to the voice calling out from within his soul and has humbly sung his little song, and thus his sincerity has lifted him above base imitation and frigid intellectulism. It is not in any sense an art born in the studio. It is needless for me to discant on the beauty of the reproductions—for that was ensured by the editorship of Mr. Gangoly. But "The Vînâ" (Plate VI) immediately arrests us—where the bare simplicity of the line harmonises so melodiously with the soft delicate treatment of the hair—immediately capturing a mood which the tranquil background intensifies. The "Râsa Lilâ" (Plate XVI) and the detail thereof (Plate XVII), furnishes another example, in particular, the figure to the left, where the artist abandons himself to the rhythm of the dance. The Gopi is sympathetically rendered and the flowers and the drapery delicately posed. The letterpress on the paintings has emanated from the rich sympathies of Mr. O. C. Gangoly who has always been warm in his appreciation and encouraging even in his reproaches. We gladden when our artists from Bengal win their meed of praise from distant lands, for they continue to live and pain and prosper inspite of our censure, and inspite of the occasional harshness of our criticisms. To many of us, it bears a personal aspect for we have been a witness to their first stumbling efforts, their perpetual struggles and their victories. At times we have been harsh—but it is gratifying to note that Art has not withheld and died under the irrepressible strictness of our criticism. We rejoice when we realise that they succeed in their emotional appeal and that their songs are wafted from the streams of Bengal into the hearts of distant peoples and races. It must be so when Dr. Cousins interprets and Mr. O. C. Gangoly explains. A-N JHA.

ARUN SEN, B.A. (Cantab.).

KEUR-VAN INDISCHE BEELDHOUWKUNST (CHOIX DE SCULPTURES DES INDES) EERSTE SERIE (VEREENIGING VAN VRIENDEN DER AZIATISCHE KUNST) 26 COLLOTYPE PLATES S'-GRAVENHAGE. MARTINUS NIHOFF 1923. PRICE £2 15 SHILLINGS.

THIS neatly produced portfolio of selected examples of Indian sculpture published for the Dutch Society of the Friends of Asiatic Art has two quite distinct features. In the first place it is symptomatic of the change that has now come in Continental connoisseurship in appreciating and appraising Indian Art. It is now claiming its place in the attention of European scholars in their studies of Asiatic Art. In the second place, this publication, which shows plenty of taste and care, under the able directorship of Dr. T. B. Roorda, easily puts to shade the recent publication of the India Society, of somewhat similar aim and scope. The Dutch publication is a souvenir of the Exhibition of Indian sculptures organized by the Society at the Hague in 1922 of which an interesting catalogue was issued. The present portfolio includes a selection of 26 subjects reproduced in small collotype plates admirably mounted each with a small descriptive text both in Dutch and in French, and a small but an illuminating introduction by Dr. Roorda which raises very interesting questions, as will appear from the following extracts:—"If Indian sculpture is believed to have power—thus, to raise a religious ecstasy, it should be stated that it is impossible to taste the emotion produced by the religious character of a statue of Shiva, or of the Buddha, with the aid of a scientific knowledge, but only by the aid of a profound faith, that for realising the spiritual and religious significance, one need not be a connoisseur but only a believer. And once this conviction has ripened in him, it should also be understood that this possibility does not exist, so to speak, for the Occidentals, who are nursed in the bosom of a civilization of an entirely different complexion and, in some beliefs, directed in an entirely different sense. Regarded as ritual values, these works are, for our spiritual life, works without life and without soul. And—yet, he, who in spite of all that, has fixed his attention on these images, will have remarked, that he extricates from them an emotive action—an action which appears to be independent of their significance limited by time and by place. This mysterious effect, then, these figures exercise by their æsthetic import, by the fact that they speak to us, as works of art, the universal language which is born of eternity and of which the accents address themselves to those who stretch their ears to hear them. * * * This applies in the first place to the work of the artist. He should not consider the work which has grown under his hands as a representation of an imaginary reality of things

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Collection Prof. Rothenstein.

Fig 3. Vāsaka-shayyā

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perceptible by the senses—but as the expression of the real existence of the spirit created by him as an 'instrument' (sâdhanâ) of this spirit, which he has followed, transported by the grace of Yoga experienced at the moment of profound ecstasy. The work of the plastic art of India, being much less a representation, is thus a revelation, and it is from this revelation that it borrows, independent of the language of its forms, fixed by time and place, its mystic consecration. It is evident that this consecration which is independent of all rituals and which is religious in the most general sense, could only move the spectator on one condition; that is, that the work itself, should evoke an inspiration which knowledge could not describe,—due to a harmony of composition and of rhythm, to the power and the grace of the designs, and of the lines determining its forms, that is to say, that the work shall be the work of an artist." It is not then the image itself prescribed by a determined ritual—but the manner which manifests its form—which constitutes the æsthetic value of the work. Of the actual examples reproduced only nine out of twenty-six represent India proper. The rest are representative of Indian Colonial Art in Siam, Java and Cambodia. The first example, an image of Uma and Parvati (wrongly described as an architectural fragment) is a very sensitive specimen of early Brahminic sculpture in the neighbourhood of the Gupta period. Of Nepal, a very characteristic figure, is borrowed from the Calcutta Art Gallery, which is easier to admire than to identify. Southern India is very well represented by a stone bull in a very animated example, the Bhogasthânaka Mûrti of Vishnu, is not a worthy specimen of the type in its best manner. But this is compensated by a very lively Venugopâla, evidently from North India wrongly attributed to the South. Some interest undoubtedly attaches to the unique bronze Buddha (plate X) which easily recalls the famous Dong-Du'o'ng Buddha of the Hanoi Museum. The profile, however, affords a clue, which to some, will point the origin in Ceylon. Of the Javanese bronzes, that of Srîdevî is, perhaps, the best. Of the Cambodian specimens the head of Avolokiteswara (plate XXV) is a worthy example. In this miscellaneous collection, in which the colonial phase preponderates, necessarily, the quality and character of the main Indian stem, is somewhat obscured. We should like to see the examples of India proper adequately represented in the next volume which is intended to be published in this series. We are nevertheless grateful for this courteous Dutch tribute presented in exquisite form, to the quality of Indian sculpture.

G.

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OURSELVES.—We have been giving the financial side of our enterprise some consideration and after mature deliberation we have decided to increase the rate of subscription to twenty-four rupees from January 1925. We claim, with certain amount of just pride, that our Quarterly takes the highest place in illustrated Journalism, and the quality of our illustrations and the general get up are second to none, but are superior to many Art-Journals. Unfortunately, as we have repeatedly pointed out in these columns, we have not received in India anything like an adequate support to our Journal, and our repeated appeals to our educated friends to give us the benefit of their help have gone in vain. The *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* formerly published from London used to be treated as an Imperial concern and was liberally subsidized by the India Office. Our Journal receives a paltry donation from the provincial revenue which is hardly sufficient to keep it going. We applied to the Education Department of the Government of India for a helping hand in a concern which is unique in the annals of educational enterprise in India, and most certainly deserved generous contribution from the Education Budget of the Government of India. But Art in any form or kind is more or less a forbidden fruit in all parts of India, and in Education circles in particular. The Education Department of the Government of India, therefore, thought fit to refuse to help this Journal. We have, therefore, to resort to the only alternative left, viz., to increase the rate of subscription. We have been assured by many friends in and outside India that "a single issue of our Journal is worth the whole year's subscription." We had so long kept our subscription low, with a view to reach a wider public accessible only through a popular rate. Considering the fact that very few people in this country have the necessary inclination, taste or training to appreciate the Art of their own country, our hope for enlisting a large number of Indians as subscribers to our Journal is not likely to be fulfilled. We hope our present subscribers and friends who have given us their generous support will approve of our decision for an increased rate and will continue to lend us their valuable help and sympathetic interest.

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COLLECTION OF PROFESSOR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN.—Our study of some Kangra miniatures in the collection of Professor Rothenstein has led to a search for parallels to the group of Radha and Krishna pictures which are reproduced

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here (Figs. 1, 2 and 3) in black and white. They belong to a group by themselves connected together by a similarity of treatment and subject matter. They obviously belong to the Pahari school. We have been able to discover a very interesting parallel to this group, in a little masterpiece, belonging to Miss Stella Kramrisch, which by the courtesy of the owner, we are able to reproduce in the colour plate opposite. It is a picture of a white pavilion painted on a background of deep Indian red, surrounded by a group of trees, symbolically treated, with only one human figure—a lady, dressed in a diaphanous skirt, standing at the entrance to the pavilion. Though the composition is fairly crowded there is a surprising sense of "emptiness" a psychic stillness, and an anxious suspense which is really the theme of the picture. This is expressed by very skilful devices. The bed kept ready for the expected guest in this shrine of love—is emphasised by the blank whiteness of the wall—which, in its turn, is contrasted with the crowd of trees which practically fill all the space outside, poignantly suggesting that everybody is here—but the Beloved one. In the words of an old Vaishnava song: "My temple alone is empty"; (*shunya mandira mora*). It is a vigil of love and she is waiting for her lover, standing motionless on the tip-toe of expectation, a wary sentinel of the empty shrine of love. Her loneliness is laid stress on by the echoes of five straight perpendicular cypress tress —schematic in their rigidness. The monotonous red is the very symbol of the prolonged agony of separation and is the necessary burden of this love-song. The glimpse of a narrow strip of the sky overhead with a few stray clouds at the very top of the picture could not be allowed to encroach on the volume of red space which is the main stay of the composition. The preponderating and almost monotonous red so indispensable for the theme, had, however, to be balanced somehow by a sufficient quantity of blue which is introduced round the border outside. The skirt overlaps the trees—in a deliberate solecism—as the figure could not be allowed to be intercepted by the trees, without impairing the effect of the figure. The miniature itself is not very old, and the technique is very far below the usual level of Kangra pictures, but the whole conception and the design bespeak—an earlier date than what is suggested by the actual quality of the execution. It may be a late copy of an early Kangra. The dress of the lady in all details is typically Moghul. The example is, however, in many ways unique, and the subject is not represented in any known collection excepting that of Professor Rothenstein. The theme is, no doubt, the Lover's Bed, "Vâsaka-shayyâ" which is thus defined in the "Rasikapriyâ" of Kesavadâsa: "Vâsaka-shayyâ hoyiso, kahi, Kesava-sa-vilâsa, chita-vai-rati-griha dwâratyon, piya-âvanaki-âsa." [Kesava says that she is "Vâsaka-shayyâ" who stands looking out from the door of her temple of love—full of love and full of hope for the coming of her beloved.] Very closely related to this example in theme, though slightly different in technique and type—are three examples from the collection of Professor Rothenstein (Figs. 1, 2 and 3). In Fig. 1 the bed is being spread by Râdhâ, herself, inside the pavilion, while her two companions are busy in getting ready the sandal paste and other offerings for the ritual of the mystic love-service. In the second picture (Fig. 2) the lover has just arrived at the gate, decked in all the glory of his long garland and the crown of lotus. Râdhâ was just giving the finishing touches to her toilet, when the sight of her lover at the gate transfixes her pose—as her large eyes are riveted on the expected guest. One of Krishna's companion is being dismissed at the gate, while another slyly goes round the pavilion and hides himself to witness the love-scene through the proverbial "key-hole." The type of the figures, particularly that of Krishna, with all the details of his (shringâra-vesha) "dress of dalliance" recalls the example illustrated in Coomaraswamy's "Rajput Painting," Plate XXX and both may be from the same brush. In the third example, the story of the first two culminates in the meeting—the mystic love union of Râdhâ and Krishna. He has crossed the threshold and knocked at the very gate of her heart. One solitary tree stands outside as sentinel of the mystic chamber of love. It slightly bends its head as a curious eavesdropper to the mystic union, and its leaves seem to be thrilled with delight. The series of pictures are strung together on the same theme—the story being successively unfolded in the Preparation, the Vigil, the Arrival, and the Meeting. The treatment of the subject is very profound in its significance, and is altogether in the best manner of the Kangra artists. The examples offer very interesting accessions to our knowledge of Rajput Painting.

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VASAKA-SAYYA

(Rajput, Pahari, with Moghul influence)

By the Courtesy of Miss Stella Kramrisch

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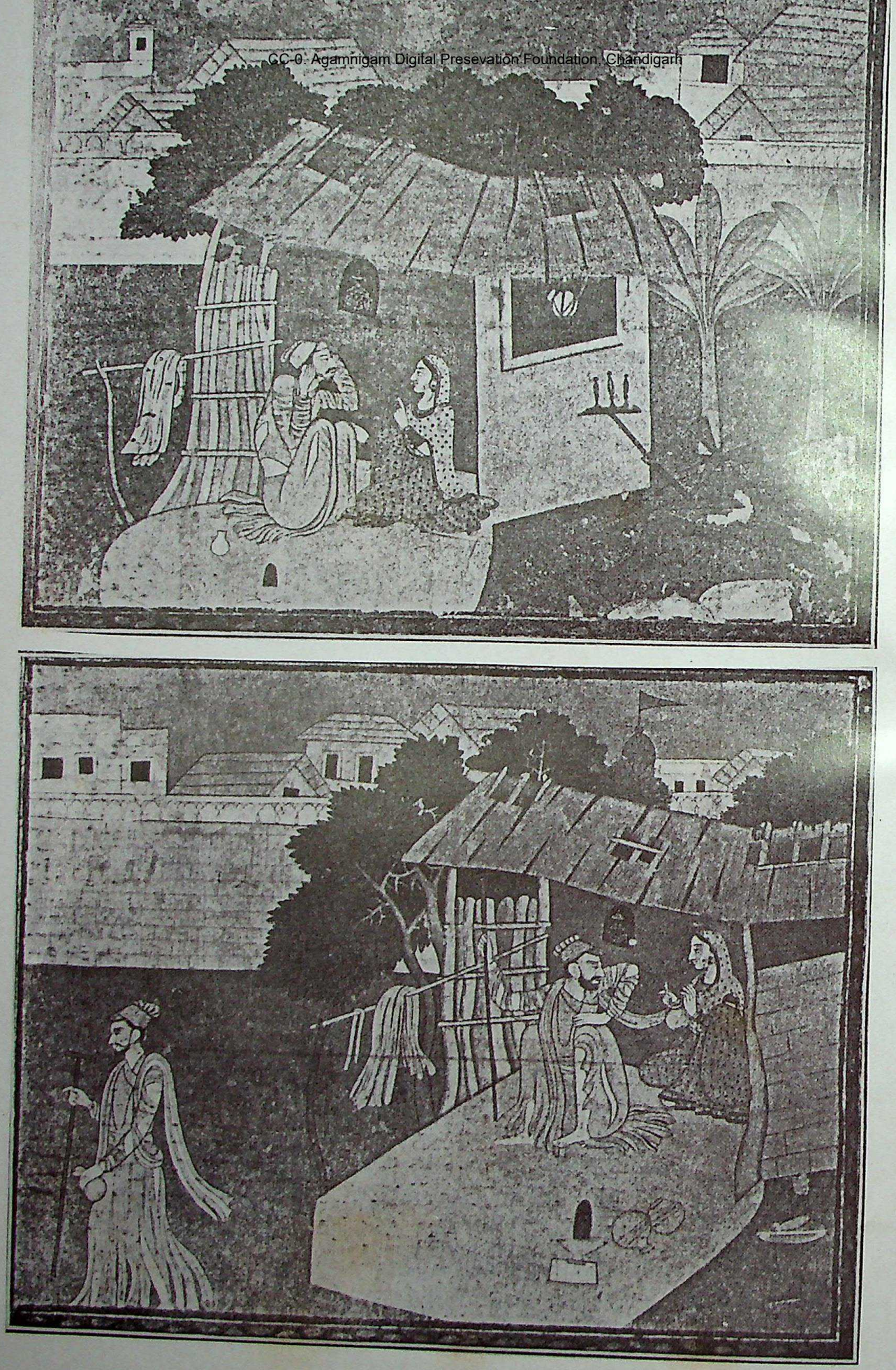

Collection Prof. Rothenstein. The Story of Sudāmā (Kangra School).

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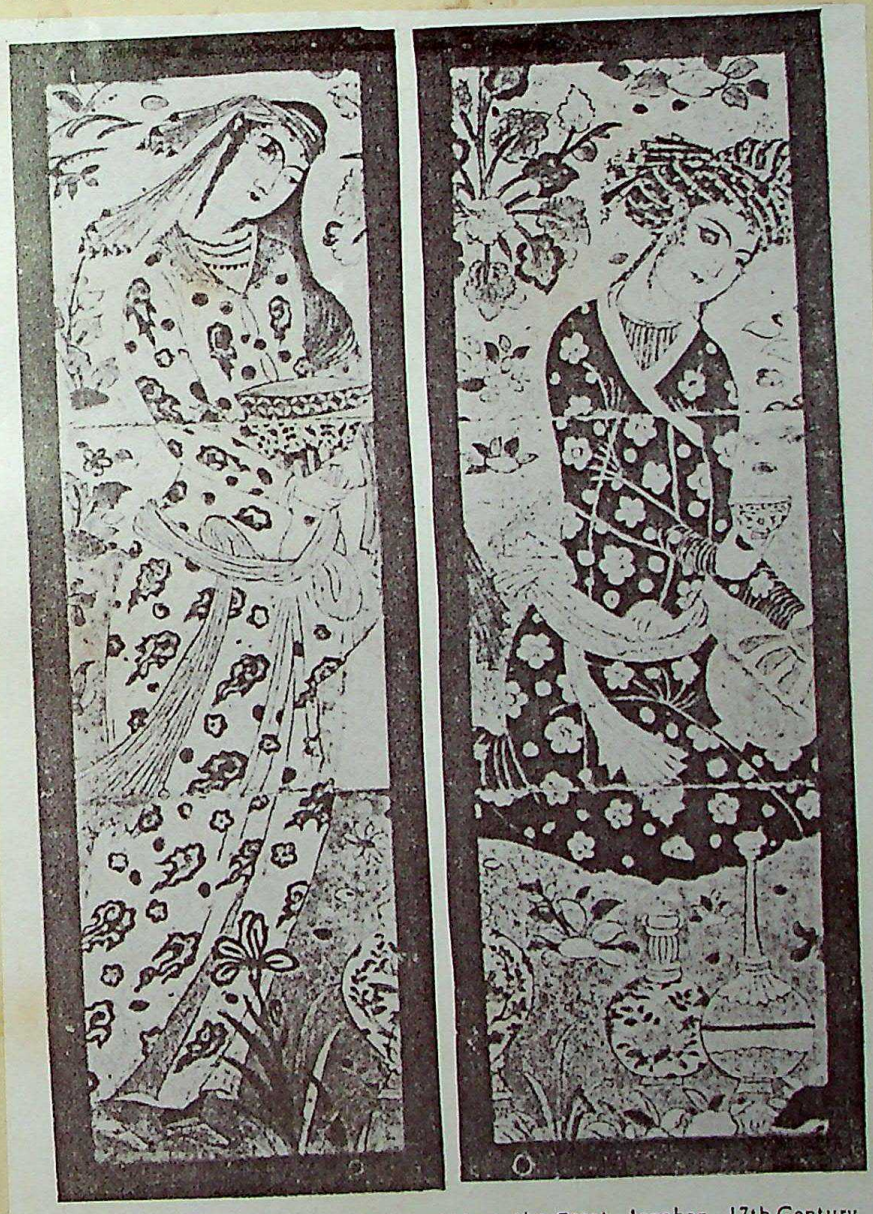
Being repeatedly pressed by his wife, he at last resolved to go to Krishna, thinking that the sight of his friend would fetch him the greatest gain, spiritual rather than material. He carried with him a handful of flattened rice tied to his apron, as an humble present for his distinguished friend —then King of Dwarka. He was cordially received and given a seat by his side. The Brahman was ashamed to offer his humble present—which Krishna himself discovered for himself the grains of rice from the Brahmin's rags and accepted them greedily: "What is this! O friend you have brought this highly gratifying offering for me. These rice grains please me, the universal Atmâ." So saying he partook of one handful. The Brahmin passed the night with Krishna and went home the next morning. Krishna seeing him off to a certain distance. He gave him no wealth, nor did the Brahmin ask for any. He thought—"Kind as He is, He did not give me any wealth, lest a poor man should forget Him by the pride of wealth." But he had surprises in store at his home. On return he found palatial buildings, gardens and well-dressed male and female attendants. His wife, richly dressed, came out to meet him. Krishna had made him rich beyond his wildest dreams. In our two pictures we find the unhappy wife pursuading her poor husband to pay a visit to the Prince of Dwarka. In the second picture, the husband is seen starting for the visit—his wife tying up the grains of rice at the end of his *dopatta*. In the same picture the figure is repeated, at the corner, and represented as walking out of his home. This narrative style of depicting the different stages of the same story in one picture by the device of repeating the principal figure in the same composition to indicate the movement of the story, is of Central Asian origin and is freely used in the fresçoes of Ajanta. It is also a familiar device in many Kangra and Jaipur paintings, e.g., from the Ramayana. There is a *naive* realism in the details of the pictures which conveys the atmosphere of the story with all its dramatic implications. The architecture in the picture is of the Punjab hill-villages. Houses with similar sloping roofs frequently occur in other Kangra pictures, e.g., The Divine Cowherd (Pl. LI and LII, Rajput Painting). The visit of Sudâmâ to Krishna is the subject of a picture reproduced in "Rajput Painting" (Pl. XXIX). We propose to reproduce some more examples from the Rothenstein collection in our next number.



Panels from the Palace of Shah Abbas, the Great, Ispahan, 17th Century

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A PAIR OF PERSIAN PANELS.—The use of enamelled earthenwares in the forms of tiles and panels as a decorative covering for walls has been a characteristic fashion in Mussalman architecture in Persia, Asia Minor, Turkistan and even in Spain. The fashion was introduced into Egypt at a comparatively late time. They are generally known as "Kutahia" wares. Kutahia was a town in Asia Minor which was the chief centre of this industry. Though their exact origin is difficult to fix—their use is as old as the thirteenth century, some examples have been found to bear dates 1217 and 1262 A.D. During the fourteenth century they attained considerable development and from small tiles, evolved the forms of big plaques with epigraphic motifs in blue relief on lustred ground. Very

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frequently they have borrowed pictorial motifs particularly during the time of the Safavid Sultans (XVI-XVIIth centuries). Under their patronage, the art attained considerable degree of perfection, being frequently influenced by Chinese Art under the Mongols. The panel of "a scene in a garden" from the Chehel-situm Pavilion of forty columns at Ispahan (Shah Abbas 1583-1627) in the Louvre Museum is very well known. A couple of fragments from a somewhat similar panel we are able to reproduce here by the courtesy of Messrs. Spink & Sons, Ld. They are two feet five inches in height and ten inches in width. They are supposed to have come from the Palace of Shah Abbas the Great at Ispahan. If we compare our examples with the specimen in the Louvre and also the one at Victoria and Albert Museum, the similarity in the style and technique is obvious. The two figures are almost repetitions of two somewhat similar figures in the "Garden panel" in the Louvre.

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MUSSULMAN ART.—In response to the interest which some of our Mussulman friends have evinced in our Journal we propose to devote some space in these columns to the consideration of Mussulman Art in its many phases. Very little emphasis has been laid even by educated Mussulmans to a phase of culture with which their civilization have so lavishly enriched the Art of the world. Very little attention has been paid to this subject in educational circles in India and it is scarcely understood that a discussion and appreciation of all forms of Mussulman Art offer a happy meeting place where the rancours of religious animosity are hushed into silence. We have already published in our April Number a richly illustrated article on Persian Painting, on which Major Sutton contributes another article in this number. We hope our friends interested in the subject will give us their hearty collaboration.

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MR. CHANDA'S DISCOVERY OF NEW ORISSAN SCULPTURES.—Students of Indian Sculptures had almost settled down, in snug complacency, to the belief that all old surviving monuments of India have yielded up their treasures, and all phases of Indian Sculptures have been discovered and studied. To this complaisant attitude, Mr. Roma Prosad Chanda, of the Archæological Department has furnished a very startling corrective. It has been hitherto supposed that the ruins of Konarak and the magnificent series of sculptures on the various temples at Bhubaneswar exhausted all that Orissan craftsmen had to offer in the domain of sculpture, and that these monuments constituted the best phases of the Orissan school. Thanks to the researches of Mr. Chanda, the boundaries of Orissan sculpture have been enlarged by important discoveries. In the somewhat out of the way and remote corner of Orissa in the State of Mayurbhanj at the old site of Khiching (Khichinga-kotta, of the inscriptions) Mr. Chanda has discovered the remains of a series of old temples of the tenth and eleventh centuries which he attributes to the Bhanja Kings, the ancestors of the present Chief of Mayurbhanj. Among the interesting pieces of sculptures from this site, we owe to Mr. Chanda a pair of fragments of Nâga (serpent spirit) which are veritable *tour de force* of mediæval sculpture (*vide* plate opposite). They will easily challenge comparison with the well-known, if somewhat well worn, repetition of the same theme on the walls of the temples of Konarak. On the latter monument, the representation of Nâgas and Nâginis are all in small scale. The examples from Khiching, not only in their size, but in their monumental treatment seem to overshadow the "miniature beauties" of Konarak. In the face of this evidence it can no longer be asserted that the main stem of Orissan sculpture was planted at Konarak and Bhubaneswar. Though related in general features to the Orissan school, the sculptors of Khiching made independent contributions to the school, which are by no means a repetition or a continuation of the sculptures of Konarak. The conical headgear (Karanda Mukuta) of the Nâga (fig. 1) follows, indeed, the style familiar to us from the figures of Kartikeya at Bhubaneswar and of the Sun-images at Konarak. The treatment here is less elaborate and for less *stylisee* than the examples in the Orissan sculptures hitherto known. The general treatment of the figures and of the ornaments is much simpler and rendered with bolder and stronger vision than in the later sculptures. The styles certainly point to a period earlier than those of the Bhubaneswar or Konarak. It may be that, here, we have the earlier phases of Orissan sculptures from which the art, as we meet with on the façades of Konarak, have descended. Mr. Chanda's estimate of the date of the Khiching sculptures which he places between the tenth and eleventh centuries seems to be justified by their style. We quote here from the paper in Bengali, which he read at the Literary Conference held on the 19th April last at Radhanagore, the birth place of Raja Ram Mohun Roy: "The temple, for the decoration of which the image of Mahisamardini and other gods and goddesses and the nâgas and nâginis were sculptured may not have been larger in size than those of Lingaraja, Bramheswar and Rajrani, but was undoubtedly incomparable in its beauty. We cannot claim to be able, from the few fragments and relics that we have discovered, to reconstruct or to give an idea of this temple in the fullness of its own glory. But we can assert without contradiction that the decoration on the outer façades of the *garva griha* (sanctum) of this temple attest to the remarkable craftsmanship and the refined taste of its builders. It was comparatively free from exaggerations and sensuality(?). To render, that which is attractive to the eye, in an exaggerated or over-loaded form is a sign of sensuality in art. An excessive indulgence in ornamentations is also a sign of an addiction to the senses. In the decorations of the main temple at Khiching, one is happy to miss this note of

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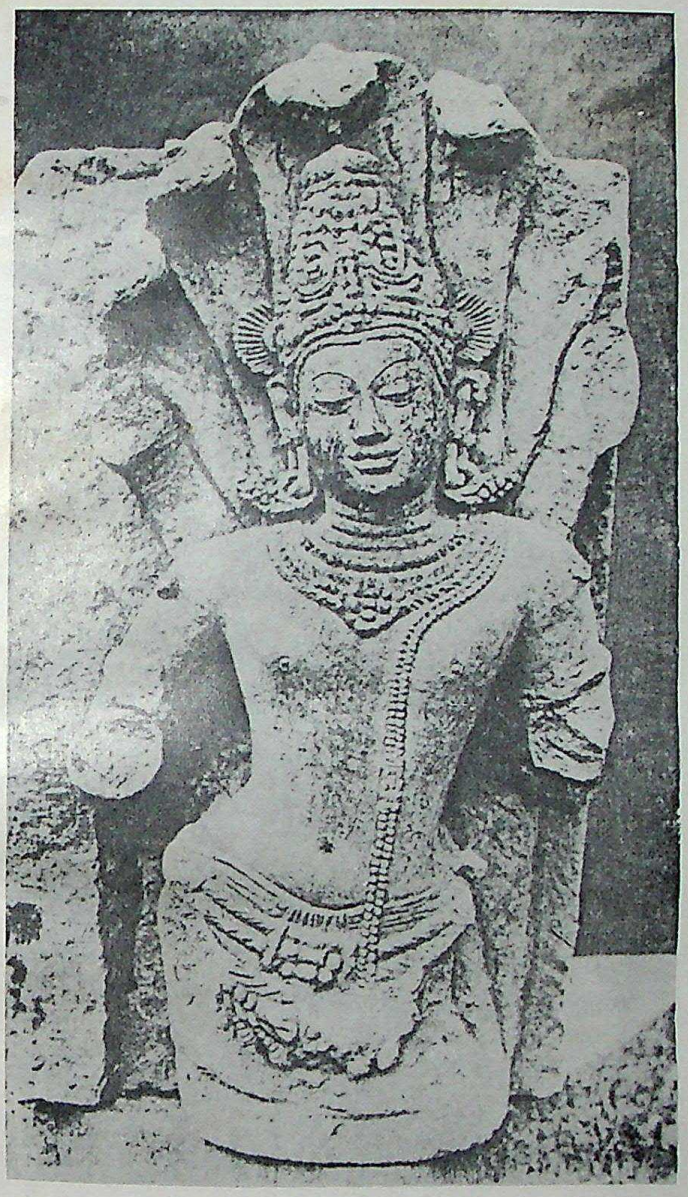

Fig. 1 Naga

Fig. 2 Mahisa-Mardini

FROM KHICHING, MAYURBHUNJ, ORISSA

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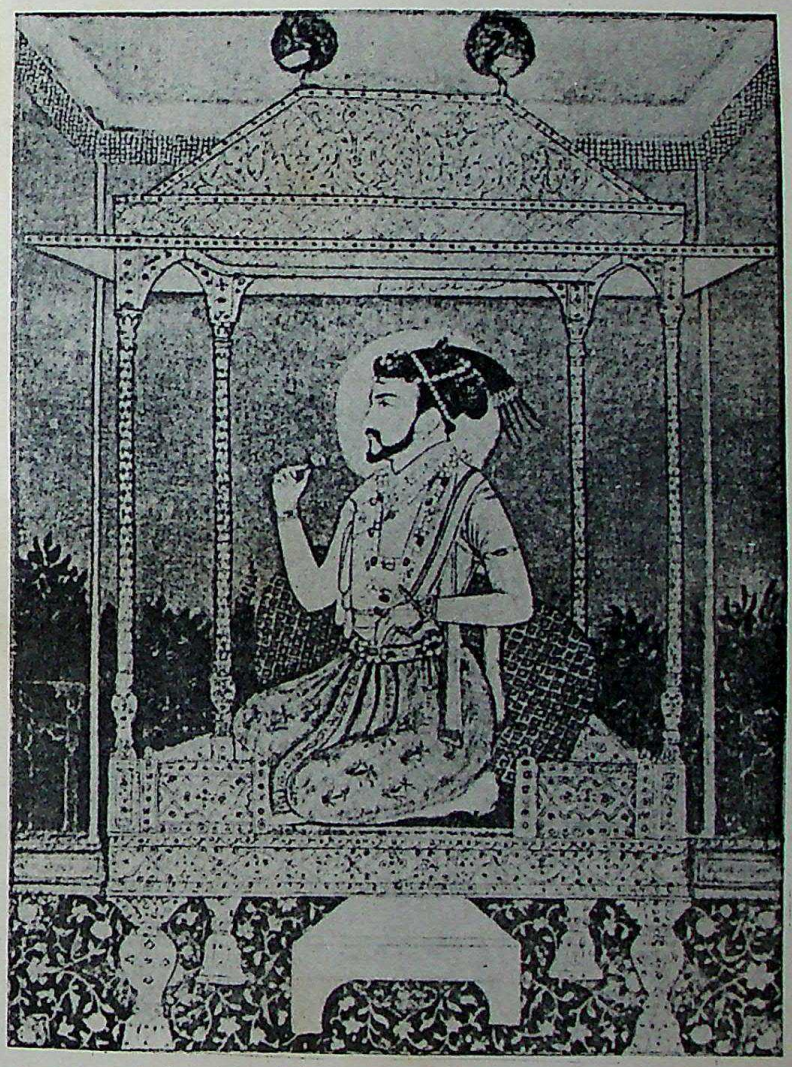
sensuality. All the parts display a restraint in the language of its ornaments. The *sikhara* of this temple bore but little effort at decoration. It is useless to decorate parts of temple, which are invisible or difficult to see. To decorate the finials of tall temples is an obvious waste of labour. The *sikhara* of the Lingaraj Temple is likewise bare of ornaments. The secret of the beauty of a temple, is in the pose of its plastic and the fitness of its limbs. A scheme of decoration, which covers from our gaze the beauty and the fitness of its form, however imposing by itself and independently stimulating in its feeling, is an abomination, from the point of view of the temple itself." The image of Mahisamardini (the slayer of the Buffalo-demon) also from the same site is a remarkable piece (fig. 2), particularly striking in the upper part of the figure. The verse descriptive of the image as given in the Devîmâhâtmya Markendava Purânam is quoted by Mr. Chanda: "It is only in Thy bosom, O my Goddess! That I find the mercy of love and the mercilessness of hate. You are the bestower of all the gifts to the Three worlds!" To quote Mr. Chanda, again: "The face of the image is an excellent interpretation of the poet of the Purâna. It looks as if the goddess is killing the fierce demon out of a sense of her duty, and much against her own will. When picturing the story of Hercules slaying the Lion and similar subjects, the old Greek sculptors—they put a cloak of graciousness on the face of the slayer." In India, as in Greece, in the rendering of the battle between the gods and the demons and in the slaughter of the demons the injunction of the Gîtâ has been honoured: "Oh Dhanjaya! Accomplish all your deeds in the trance of *Yoga* and without any attachments to your actions."



Shahjahan on the Peacock Throne

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THE PEACOCK THRONE.—The report of the possible sale of the Crown Jewels of Persia in London to help to liquidate the debts of the Shah, a few months ago, revived the old story of the celebrated Peacock Throne (Takht-i-Taous), conceived by Tamerlane and completed by Shah Jahan—which was the cherished ornament of Dewan-i-khas at Delhi, and which Nadir Shah carriedaway from Delhi in 1740. This famous furniture of the glittering court of the Great Moghul, was believed to have survived and was identified with the throne which stands in the Council Chamber of the Shah's Palace at Teheran, until the legend was exploded by Lord Curzon in his work on Persia (Vol. I, p. 317-322, 1892). He was able to establish that what had hitherto passed off as the Peacock Throne was not the famous Indian throne at all but a comparatively modern furniture, constructed by Mahommed Hossein Khan Sadr (or High Priest) of Isfahan, for Fateh Ali Shah, when the latter married a Isfahani young lady, whose popular sobriquet for some unexpected reason, was Taous Khanum or the Peacock Lady. "The king is further said to have been so much delighted with the throne that it was made a remarkably prominent feature in the ceremonies that commonly ensue upon marriage." In further demolition of the hypothesis as to the survival of Nadir Shah's famous loot from Delhi, Lord Curzon alludes to a passage in Fraser's "Khorasan", in which he mentions that an old Kurd told him in 1822, that when Nadir Shah

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was murdered and his camp plundered, the Peacock Throne and the Tent of Pearls fell into our hands and were torn in pieces and divided on the spot". Lord Curzon accepts this report. He, however, seems to support the claim of another throne, which according to him could be associated with the original (?) throne of Shah Jahan. According to Malcolm (History of Persia, Vol. II, p. 37), Nadir Shah was so fond of the real Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul that he had an exact duplicate of it made in other jewels. This is quite distinct and a separate piece from the wedding present of Fateh Ali Shah. Lord Curzon, however, gathered from the Grand Vizir and the former minister of Foreign Affairs that Nadir Shah's duplicate was discovered in a broken down and piecemeal condition by Agha Mahomed Shah who extracted it along with many other of the conqueror's jewels by brutal torture from his blind grandson Shah Rukh at Meshad, and "then had the recovered portions of it made up into the throne of modern shape and style which now stands at the end of the new museum in the palace at Teharan." It is known as the Takht-i-Marmar, or white marble throne of Kerim Khan Zend, wrought of marble of Yezd, and brought from Shiraj by Aga Mahomed Shah. Some writers have supposed this also to be an Indian throne, and to have belonged to Nadir's spoil. It is illustrated in Benjamin's "Persia and the Persians" (p. 222). There is no doubt that Shah Jahan had more than one throne of which *the* Peacock Throne was the largest and the best. Bernier records that "the great Mogul had seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds, other with rubies, emeralds, and pearls." Travernier also speaks of the Peacock Throne as "the largest throne." According to the report of Hanway, Nadir Shah had carried off nine other thrones in addition; and "it might be, therefore, that the Teheran throne (Takht-i-Marmar), though not the Peacock Throne was one of the rifled thrones of the Emperors of Hindustan."

Inlaid Marble Pedestal from
The Throne of Shahjahan
(SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM)

Lord Curzon's enquiry and conclusions which brought about "the deposition of the usurper" to the claim of the title of the Peacock Throne—have not been able to set at rest other aspirants to the honour to which we shall presently refer. It will be useful to consider first the actual testimony of Travernier who visited Delhi in 1655. According to his report: "The largest throne which is set up in the hall of the first court, is in form like one of our field beds, six feet long and four feet broad. The cushion at the base is round like a bolster; the cushions on the sides are flat. The underpart of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock with its tail spread consisting all of sapphires and other proper coloured stones. The body is of beaten gold enchased with several jewels, and a great ruby upon his breast, at which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays as high as the bird, consisting of several sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled." According to French traveller Bernier, also a eye-witness, has left records which certainly confuse the identity of the original Peacock Throne. He says: "The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not worthy of the materials, but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, named La Grauge (?) who after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe, by means of false gems, sought refuge in the Great Mogul's Court, where he made his fortune" (Travels in the Mogul Empire, Constable's Edition, p. 268-69). Bernier speaks of two peacocks while Travenier speaks of *a* peacock. It is obvious that they are not speaking of the same throne. We have, however, a very interesting evidence which may at first sight, be taken to be a confirmation of Bernier's description. A

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contemporary portrait of Shah Jahan seated on a throne is represented in one of the series of miniatures given to the Victorial Albert Museum by the Wantage bequest. From the picture which we reproduce here in a small scale, it is obvious that the Great Mogul is seated on a throne on which stands two peacocks. The canopy, on the other hand, looks very like "an arch with four panes" described by Travernier. The throne in the picture has, however, four legs and not six, as suggested by Bernier, Our picture, is unfortunately not signed by an artist who could be identified as a contemporary person. There is no doubt, however, that the portrait is a contemporary study, and it is possible that the throne represented in this miniature, was a transcript of one of the thrones actually used by Shah Jahan. The question still remains whether it is the picture of *the* Peacock Throne. The latest claimants for the honour is a pair of marble pedestals now distributed between two museums on either side of the Atlantic, one of which we reproduce here by the courtesy of the curator. One comes from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the other belongs to the collection of the Metropolitan Museum. They come from the collection of Captain Tytler who was left in charge of the palace, after the capture of Delhi by the British Troops during the Mutiny and they were later on sold by his widow to the two museums in 1892 and 1908. These pedestals are the survivals of a platform of marble richly inlaid with precious stones, on which the Celebrated Peacock Throne once stood. It is said that when Nadir Shah carried off the original Peacock Throne a substitute was made, and this substitute was placed on the original marble platform supported by four pedestals, which was destroyed during the Mutiny and two of these pedestals were recovered by Captain Tytler. The pedestals are small columns 22½ high richly carved, with square capital 11 inches wide. The capital has a square abacus diminishing, by means of highly ornamental stalactite work, to a circular necking, carved to represent a chain pattern. The compressed bulbous shaft is sixteen sided and faceted into triangles and hexagons, each of the latter being inlaid with conventional flowers in lapis-lazuli, carnalin, jade or yellow marble. The base is of peculiar shape, devised in the leaves of an upturned lotus in extremely conventionalised forms, the two rows of which are outlined with black marble inlay. The lotus ends in a deep hallow decorated with a row of floral arabesque ornaments beautifully inlaid. The base is an octagonal strip likewise inlaid. There is no doubt that the style of the decoration is of the time of Shah Jahan, and is in the manner of the *pieter dura* work of the Taj. We have no evidence, except what is furnished by Captain Tytler's widow, that the marble furniture, now surviving in two solitary pedestals formed the support of the Peacock Throne. It bears no doubt the impress of the exquisite taste and consummate executive skill of the period of Shah Jahan when Mogul Art and architecture reached its pinnacle. Our marble platform does not claim to be the actual Peacock Throne, but the supporting platform and the richness and beauty of the surviving legs worthily uphold the claim that has been made for them.

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